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RESEARCH

Abstracts



THE RHESUS
OF
EURIPIDES

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THE RHESUS
OF
EURIPIDES

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE

THE text of this edition owes most to Prof. Gilbert Murray's edition of the play in Vol. III of his *Euripides*; the commentary to the works of Paley and Vater. As this edition is not based on independent examination of the mss. I have dispensed with critical notes, merely indicating at the foot of the page the reading or readings of the most important mss. in passages where I have had recourse to the conjectures of scholars. Such passages, however, have been discussed at length in the commentary.

The appendix on vv. 874-8 I owe to the kindness of Prof. G. Norwood of University College, Cardiff.

In the arrangement of the choric passages I have followed the system of O. Schröder in his *Cantica Euripidis*, published in the Teubner series, to which the reader is referred for an elaborate analysis of the rhythms.

My best thanks are due to my former college tutor, Prof. Beare of Dublin, who not only has permitted me to use in the introduction portions of an article which I contributed in 1913 to *Hermathena*, of which journal he is editor, but has contributed many criticisms and suggestions on matters treated in the commentary; also to my former colleagues in University College, Bangor, Dr E. V. Arnold and Dr Hudson-Williams; and to my friend, Rev. C. B. Armstrong, Head Master of Cork Grammar School.

W. H. PORTER.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK,

July, 1916.

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INTRODUCTION

The *Rhesus* has perhaps excited a greater difference of opinion among those who have discussed its literary value and significance than any other extant Greek play. This has happened mainly because critics have not approached it with an open mind. Their real interest has lain in the question whether the *Rhesus* is to be regarded as a genuine work of Euripides. This question, first raised by certain ancient critics, has been debated, not infrequently with some asperity, by every generation of scholars from the days of Scaliger. It is significant that those who deny the authenticity of the play generally proceed to denounce it as a feeble and mediocre production¹, while almost every upholder of its Euripidean title has adjudged it a meritorious work not unworthy of its author.

Of late the protagonists on either side have approached the problem with more diffidence, and are consequently less eager to call in aesthetic arguments to support their critical position. No opponent of the traditional view, except perhaps Wilamowitz, would now assert that the faults of the play in themselves make it impossible to believe that Euripides wrote it; no supporter, not even Professor Murray, would claim that its merits are such that no lesser poet could have done so.

Hence it has become less difficult for the student, in dealing with the interpretation and literary significance of the play, to keep his judgment unbiassed by the problem of

¹ E.g. Valckenaer, Morstadt, Hermann, Hagenbach, Menzer, Wilamowitz; with whom contrast Vater, Paley, Hartung.

authorship, and to reserve the latter for independent examination.

I. THE PLOT AND ITS SOURCES

Although the story of the *Rhesus* is derived in the main from the *Doloneia*, the tenth book of our *Iliad*, Christ is hardly accurate in describing the drama as *Iliadis carmen deductum in actus* ; for the last scene, which is certainly not the least impressive and significant portion of the play, is drawn from totally different sources. In the earlier scenes most of the divergences from the epic story are due to a desire for unity of time and place, which, on the Greek stage, was almost a necessity on account of the constant presence of the chorus throughout the action. Such divergences have no special significance.

It will be convenient, however, for the sake of clearness, to give a short sketch of the plot, in spite of the familiarity of the subject-matter.

Achilles having withdrawn his forces, the Greeks are no longer able to resist the onslaught of Hector. A day of disaster has forced them to take refuge behind the rampart of their naval camp. The victorious Trojans are spending the night around their fires on the open plain. The play begins with the arrival of a body of excited sentries (forming the chorus) who rush into the orchestra and loudly call on Hector. It is past midnight, but they have noticed a blaze of light in the camp of the foe. Hector, rising in haste, verifies their report, and concludes that the Greeks are meditating immediate flight. To check their design he is about to order a night attack on the Greek rampart, when Aeneas opportunely appears and persuades him before taking action to send out a spy to investigate the mystery. Hector accordingly appeals for a volunteer, and Dolon, one of his *ὑπασισταί*¹, offers himself for the enterprise on condition of receiving as his share of the spoils of victory the horses of Achilles. The bargain completed, he retires to disguise himself for his mission.

¹ V. 2.

At this point we meet a deviation from Homer of an exceptional kind. Homer's Dolon is not disguised (*Il.* x. 334 f.), though clad in a grey wolf's hide, and wearing a ferret-skin cap upon his head. But in the play Dolon will go forth, actually disguised as a wolf. To quote Professor Murray's version (vv. 208-215):—

A grey wolf's hide
 Shall wrap my body close on either side;
 My head shall be the mask of gleaming teeth,
 My arms fit in the fore-paws like a sheath,
 My thighs in the hinder parts. No Greek shall tell
 'T is not a wolf that walks, half-visible,
 On four feet by the trenches and around
 The ship-screen. When it comes to empty ground
 It stands on two.—That is the plan, my friend!

These tactics, be they effective or ridiculous, are not, as critics used to think, an invention of the poet, but are derived from a legend of unknown antiquity. The disguised Dolon does not, indeed, figure again in our extant literature (though he may have played a part in the *Dolon* of the comic poet Eubulus), but is depicted on a cylix fragment, bearing the signature of Euphronius. This cylix, now at Munich, is adorned with a representation of the death of Dolon. It is thus described by Mr J. A. K. Thomson¹: "The spy is clad in a tight-fitting skin which even retains the tail. By the side of Diomedes stands Athene, while on the left Hermes abandons Dolon to his fate. The artist has made his meaning quite clear. The skin *is* a disguise. ...In one detail only does Euphronius differ from the *Rhesus*. The Dolon of the vase wears a helmet; Dolon in the play draws over his head the *χάσμα θηρός* in the fashion familiar to us from the representations of Heracles." As Euphronius flourished at the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century, the legend of the disguised Dolon must at any rate be older than the Persian War.

¹ *Class. Rev.* Decr, 1911.

Dolon has retired as the chorus begin their prayer to Apollo for his safety and success. After this he speaks no more. But Professor Murray suggests that he reappears, disguised, at the conclusion of the hymn, and silently goes out into the darkness. The elaborate description of his disguise renders the suggestion highly probable. A herdsman now enters and with difficulty obtains an audience from Hector. In a vivid narrative he describes the march of Rhesus, the half-divine lord of Thrace, to the assistance of the Trojans. Hector is scarcely persuaded to accept such belated aid, so confident is he now of victory; but the chorus, in a transport of enthusiasm, greet the Thracian as Zeus the Deliverer, Zeus the Light-Bringer (*φωαῖος*), Ares the Irresistible.

As they finish their hymn of triumph Rhesus arrives in person. He excuses himself for his delay, and boasts loudly of the exploits he intends to perform upon the morrow. After a long colloquy Hector escorts the Thracians to a camping-ground outside the confederate lines. The chorus also leave the orchestra, to summon their successors. Stage and orchestra are for the moment empty—an arrangement which occurs only five times in the rest of our extant dramatic literature¹.

But now the stealthy forms of Odysseus and Diomedes emerge from the darkness. The heroes, we gather from their conversation, have met Dolon on his way to the ships and slain him, but not until he revealed the watchword and told them where to find the tent of Hector, whom it is their present purpose to slaughter in his sleep. But Hector has gone with the Thracians to their camping-ground, and the tent is empty. They must return home disappointed. They have brought with them Dolon's wolf-skin² (in the *Doloneia* they leave it on a tamarisk tree to await their return), and Professor

¹ Aesch. *Eum.* 235, Soph. *Ant.* 815 (in both accompanied by change of scene), Eur. *Helen* 327, *Alc.* 746, Ar. *Ecol.* 310.

² V. 591 f.

Murray, with his keen eye for the dramatic, suggests that they hang it up in Hector's tent to greet him as he enters. They have just turned away when the voice of Athena is heard out of the darkness, warning them of the arrival of Rhesus, destined if he survive this night to save Troy and ruin the Greek cause. Odysseus at once sets off in quest of Rhesus, and Diomedes is about to follow when Paris arrives, seeking his brother to tell him that spies are reported in the camp. Athena, however, representing herself as his patron goddess, Cypris, calms his fears, and bids him return to his post.

In the *Iliad* the mission of Dolon is subsequent to the arrival of Rhesus. Dolon directs the Greeks to Rhesus' quarters. They enter the camp for the express purpose of killing the Thracian, and accomplish their design without further adventure, Athena merely intervening to hasten their departure when the deed is done¹. It is obvious how much more dramatic is the version adopted in the play. Here the slaughter of Rhesus is due directly to Athena's intervention. Our consciousness that the catastrophe is the work not of human treachery but of divine interposition supplies, as Patin² observed, a touch of tragic solemnity lacking in the Homeric story. We should note, too, how skilfully the poet has linked up the incidents of Dolon and Rhesus by a few words which the Greek spies let fall in conversation.

Meantime the guards have heard a vague rumour of spies in the camp. Abandoning their purpose of seeking their successors, they return and crowd tumultuously into the orchestra, at the very moment that Odysseus and Diomedes are coming back red-handed from the slaughter of the Thracian king. The guards rush from the orchestra to the stage (a proceeding comparatively rare in Attic drama)³ to seize upon the foe.

Then follows a scene of confusion rather difficult to appre-

¹ *Il.* x. 433, 509.

² *Euripide*, II. p. 162.

³ "Hardly fifteen certain examples are to be found," Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, p. 155.

hend¹. Professor Murray imagines Odysseus and Diomedes appearing amid a crowd of Thracians running in disorder. But perhaps the Thracians do not discover the calamity till afterwards, as in the *Doloneia*. Diomedes and Odysseus are at once captured by the watch. Where the chariot and horses of Rhesus are at this critical moment we are not told. They remain *ἔξω τοῦ δράματος*. Odysseus adopts a tone of authority, posing as one of the Trojan host. For a moment he forgets himself. With his imagination still infected by the slaughter of the king, he asks the captain of the guard, *ἦ σὺ δὴ 'Ρῆσον κατέκτας*; Fortunately for him that personage has no time to think what may be implied in such a question. He begins a vague *tu quoque* retort, *ἀλλὰ τὸν κτενοῦντα σέ...* when Odysseus, recovering himself, hastily diverts attention by crying *ἴσχε πᾶς τις*. After a little more parley he condescends to give the watchword, and is at once taken into the confidence of the guard, whom he successfully directs on a fool's errand in search of 'the spies.' Then he slips away in the dark in company with Diomedes.

The guards soon re-assemble and find they have been fooled. While they are still lamenting their error, the charioteer of Rhesus (who fills the rôle played by Hippocoon in the *Doloneia*) approaches them, and in a speech full of vivid detail tells of his master's murder and his own wounding. Hector, when he returns, has already learnt the fate of his ally, but is shocked to find himself denounced as the assassin. In vain the sorely tried general protests his innocence, hinting at the wiles of Odysseus; his accuser persists in the charge, and when at last he is led away to have his wounds treated, his suspicions are still undispelled. The play concludes with the appearance of the Muse, the mother of Rhesus, as *dea ex machina*. Hovering over the stage with the body of her son in her arms she laments his doom, denounces Athena as the true author of the murder, declares

¹ Vv. 675-691.

her purpose of conveying the corpse home to Thrace, and foretells the destiny and honours awaiting the dead hero.

The poet has often been criticized for making the Muse announce the true facts of Rhesus' murder in the absence of the charioteer, who, in consequence, continues to suspect Hector. Professor Murray thinks, however, that "it is a clever touch to leave the Thracian still only half-convinced and grumbling." Had Hector's exculpation been effected by natural means, the arrangement might pass as a touch of realism; but if a goddess is to be called in to vindicate a hero, we should expect the vindication to be final. The true explanation may be that the same actor was required to take the parts of the Muse and the charioteer¹.

For his final scene the poet got little aid from the *Doloneia*. The author of that episode had but an incidental interest in Rhesus, who comes to Troy only to meet his doom. Yet Rhesus was a great saga figure. In historical times his name was still familiar not only in the region of the Strymon but throughout Thrace, in the island of Chios, where he was associated with the local heroine, Arganthon², and in Bithynia and Troas.

The name 'Rhesus' is probably of Thracian origin; according to a plausible suggestion of Tomaschek³, it is to be connected with the Latin *rex*; if this be so, it represents a solitary survival in the languages of Eastern Europe of the root *reg*, preserved in Indo-iranian tongues, and in several of those of Western Europe.

The parentage assigned to Rhesus in the play is no doubt derived from the myths of the Strymon valley. The *Doloneia* calls the hero simply 'son of Eïoneus' without any hint that Eïoneus is a river-god. Yet, the existence of a town called Eïon at the mouth of the Strymon confirms the view of the

¹ On the allotment of parts see *infra*, p. 1.

² Parthenius, 36.

³ Perdrizet, *Cultes et Mythes du Pangée*, p. 17.

mythologist, Conon, that Eioneus is in reality only an older name of that river.

The poet speaks of the mother of Rhesus simply as 'the Muse,' it being the custom of the tragedians, in order to fix the attention of the spectator on the great issues of the drama, to leave secondary characters, messengers, shepherds, &c., unnamed¹. Mythologists, however, insisted on attempting a more precise determination of her identity. With this object the scholiast² quotes from the *Macedonica* of the younger Marsyas (a writer known to us from citations in Pliny and Athenæus) a sentence which implies that the memory of Rhesus and his mother had long survived at Amphipolis. Marsyas states that 'there is a temple of Clio at Amphipolis, situated over against the monument of Rhesus on a certain ridge.'

The sudden apparition of the Muse with the body of her son was probably suggested³ by the scene in the *Psychostasia* of Aeschylus, where Eos appears in the air with the body of Memnon.

The most remarkable passage in the play is the prophecy of the Muse concerning the ultimate destiny of Rhesus (vv. 962-973) :—

οὐκ εἶσι γαίᾳς ἐς μελάγχμιον πέδον·
 τοσόνδε Νύμφην τὴν ἔνερθ' αἰτήσομαι,
 τῆς καρποποιοῦ παῖδα Διήμητρος θεᾶς,
 ψυχὴν ἀνεῖναι τοῦδ'· ὀφειλέτης δέ μοι
 τοὺς Ὀρφέως τιμῶσα φαίνεσθαι φίλους.
 κάμοι μὲν ὡς θανῶν τε κοῦ λεύσσω φάος
 ἔσται τὸ λοιπόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐς ταῦτόν ποτε
 οὔτ' εἶσω οὔτε μητρὸς ὄψεται δέμας.
 κρυπτός δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς
 ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος,

¹ Wilamowitz, *Analect. Eurip.* p. 185. ² Schol. v. 347.

³ J. C. Rolfe, in *Harvard Studies* iv. p. 69. Pollux (4. 130) refers to the mechanical contrivances used for such scenes.

Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν
ῥῆκε, σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδούσιν θεός.

This passage may be thus translated: 'He shall not descend into the dark earth; this much shall I beg of the Nether Bride, daughter of Demeter, the goddess who giveth the fruits of the earth, to send up his soul from the dead. And she is my debtor to show manifest honour to the kinsfolk of Orpheus. And although to me he shall be as dead henceforth and as one who sees not the light, for neither shall he meet me any more nor look upon his mother's face, yet he shall lie concealed in the caverns of the silver-bearing land, a Spirit-Man¹, beholding the light, even as the seer of Bacchus made his habitation in Pangaeum's rock, a god revered by those who understand.'

The prophecy of the Muse, so allusive and obscure, suggests three questions for consideration: (1) How does the poet conceive the condition of Rhesus after death? (2) How are we to interpret the references to Orpheus and the Βάκχου προφήτης? (3) Whence did the poet derive the form of the legend which assigns to Rhesus a final resting-place in Thracian soil?

(1) The posthumous existence attributed to Rhesus, though conforming in the main to the doctrine of the dead found elsewhere in the tragedians, is quite alien to Homeric conceptions². The Homeric Greeks knew nothing of the invocation of heroes. They practised cremation, and held a doctrine corresponding to their practice. When the body is burned, the spirit enters the house of Hades, which lies far away in the West. It can return no more to the land of the living. It takes no more thought of the doings of men. True, it may be revived by tasting blood newly shed, but to consult the departed is possible only for those who, like Odysseus, have voyaged to the land of shadows.

¹ So Murray translates ἀνθρωποδαίμων.

² On the general question see Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, I. ch. 7.

There existed, however, in Greece an older practice associated with an altogether different conception of the state of the dead. Inhumation, as practised in primitive times, implied the notion that the tomb is the dwelling-place of the spirit. It implied also the possibility of continued communication between the dead and the survivors, for the spirit can be kept awake by prayers, libations, and blood-offerings. If the bones of the dead have been transferred from one place to another, the spirit follows them; and where the tomb is, there for good or ill is felt the spirit's influence. This belief, which still prevailed in historic times—witness Herodotus' tales (I. 67, V. 67) concerning the relics of Orestes and Adrastus—leads straight to hero-worship.

In the sixth century B.C. the practice of cremation was coming into vogue in Athens, and with the change in custom there arose a conflation of these two doctrines. The spirit is no longer thought to have its abode in the tomb, but far away in the world of the dead; yet this world is now definitely conceived as an under-world. No longer does it signify whether the body has been burned or buried: from its distant home beneath the earth the spirit can return to its ashes and hearken to the voice of prayer. This eclectic theory Professor Ridgeway illustrates from the *Choephore* (324 ff., 490 f.). The body of Agamemnon has been burned, his spirit dwells beneath the earth; yet it can be summoned forth; the ritual, though long and wearisome, is effective.

Such is the doctrine presupposed in Attic Tragedy; but the position of Rhesus is in some respects unique. His soul is not to be 'sent up' for some special purpose, but is destined to enjoy perpetually a sort of life in death. As Professor Murray puts it: "Like other Northern barbaric princes, such as Orpheus and Zamolxis and Holgar the Dane, Rhesus lies in a hidden chamber beneath the earth, watching, apparently, for the day of uttermost need, when he must rise to help his people. There is no other passage in Greek Tragedy where

such a fate is attributed to a hero, though the position of Darius in the *Persae*, and Agamemnon in the *Choephorae* or *Electra*, is in some ways analogous¹."

The word *ἀνθρωποδαίμων*, found nowhere else in this sense, seems to mark the unique position of the hero.

(2) As to Orpheus. Persephone is asked to 'send up the soul' of Rhesus 'because he is a kinsman of Orpheus.' Why should this be a title to favour? We know that Persephone had already shown grace to Orpheus; but what had Orpheus done for Persephone? Maass² finds the clue to the problem in v. 943: *μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς*. There is little doubt that in the Orphic mysteries Persephone had her part, while in the mysteries of Eleusis, in which the goddess was specially concerned, Orphic features were prominent³. It would be then as hierophant and religious reformer that Orpheus conferred an obligation on the goddess.

We now come to the last four lines of the passage under consideration:

κρυπτός δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς
 ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος,
 Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτρῳ
 ᾧκησε, σεμνὸς τοῖσι εἰδόσιν θεός.

Here the Muse is comparing her son in his high estate of *ἀνθρωποδαίμων* with some 'prophet of Bacchus who made his habitation on Pangaeum's rock.'

Unfortunately the words are obscure, and there are at least three different interpretations of the passage. We cannot even be sure whether the words *σεμνὸς ... θεός* are to be referred to *ἀνθρωποδαίμων* or *προφήτης*. It is safer, however, with most modern editors, to refer them to *προφήτης*, both on account of the order, and because otherwise the description of the *προφήτης* would be left very curt.

¹ Murray, *Rhesus* (transl.), note on v. 962 ff.

² Maass, *Orpheus*, p. 67.

³ See Harrison, *Proleg. to Gk Religion*, pp. 474 and 539 ff.

There was a shrine of Bacchus on Pangaeum. We know from Herodotus that the Satrae, a tribe whose chief seat was on that mountain, possessed an oracle of Dionysus 'on the highest peaks,' wherein the Bessi acted as interpreters¹; and this may be the oracle mentioned by Dion Cassius² as having been taken from the Bessi, and transferred to the Odrysians by Crassus.

But who is the *προφήτης*? According to Vater and Dindorf it is Lycurgus, king of the Edonians. This hero appears in Homer³ as a persecutor of Dionysus. Sophocles⁴ tells how he was confined by the god 'in a rocky prison.' From Apollodorus⁵ we further learn that he was carried by the Edonians to Mount Pangaeum, and put in bonds, and there Dionysus had him torn asunder by horses. Yet there is some evidence that by a transformation not unknown in primitive religion he was sometimes identified with Dionysus himself. Strabo⁶ informs us: [οἱ Φρύγες] τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὸν Ἡδωνὸν Λυκοῦργον συνάγοντες εἰς ἓν τὴν ὁμοτροπίαν τῶν ἱερῶν αἰνίττονται. Farnell⁷, it is true, finds 'no direct record of the worship of Lycurgus, or his prophetic character.' But there is a grotto near the summit of Pangaeum where, according to Perdrizet⁸, superstitious rites are practised even at the present day; and this grotto may have been the seat of the barbarian oracle and the legendary scene of Lycurgus' imprisonment. As we have seen, the hero's grave becomes his shrine.

More recently Maass⁹ has argued with much ingenuity for the identification of the 'prophet' with Orpheus. The Muse has already mentioned Orpheus by name; and a second reference by allusion would not be unnatural. The association of Orpheus with Dionysus is a subject constantly

¹ Hdt. VII. 111, 112.

² LI. 25.

³ *Il.* VI. 130.

⁴ *Ant.* 955 f.

⁵ 3. 5. 4.

⁶ X. p. 471.

⁷ *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. V. p. 100, note.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 37 f.

⁹ *Orpheus*, p. 67 f.

referred to in literature from Herodotus onwards. There would be nothing improbable in Orpheus being called the 'prophet of Bacchus.' But have we any grounds for connecting him with the cult of the god on Mount Pangaeum?

Virgil, as Maass observes, following Alexandrian authority, makes Orpheus bewail 'his half-regained Eurydice' by the waters of Strymon; where also he meets his death at the hands of the indignant Maenads¹. Already Aeschylus in his *Bassarids* had told how on Pangaeum Thracian Maenads tore Orpheus to pieces and scattered his limbs on every side; but the Muses collected them again, and buried them in the place called Leibethra. The best-known place of this name was in Macedonia, under Mount Olympus, but for the Leibethra of Aeschylus' tragedy Maass bids us carry our search no farther than Pangaeum itself, quoting Himerius (*Or.* XIII. 4): Λειβήθριοι μὲν οὖν Παγγαίου πρόσκοι 'Ορφέα τὸν Καλλιόπης τὸν Θράκιον ἐθαύμαζον, κ.τ.λ.

Omitting Maass's subsidiary arguments, we may summarize thus his main contention. The prophet is a 'holy god to those who understand'; Orpheus' *mysteries* were closely associated with Dionysus. The prophet 'made his habitation on Pangaeum's rock'; on Pangaeum Dionysus had an oracle; on Pangaeum (according to Aeschylus) Orpheus perished; at Leibethra, on the borders of Pangaeum, the Muses buried him. Here we should be prepared to find a seat of his worship. According to Maass, then, the four lines of the play above quoted may be thus paraphrased: 'Orpheus' shrine and oracle are on Mount Pangaeum: Rhesus, too, shall have a shrine in a cavern in the plain below.' The cavern-shrine reminds us of the legends of the Thracian Zamolxis and the Boeotian Amphiaraus and Trophonius.

Perdrizet² has criticized in detail these arguments of Maass. We know nothing elsewhere, he maintains, of Lycurgus or Orpheus as prophets of Bacchus on Pangaeum.

¹ *Georg.* IV. 508 ff., 520 ff.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 27, 31.

Nor does he accept Maass's explanation of Leibethra. The Pangaeon Leibethra is a mere fiction of Himerius, a late writer (c. 350 A.D.). The 'unanimous tradition of antiquity' placed the grave of Orpheus in the famous Leibethra, under Mount Olympus, whither the Muses bore the dead prophet from Pangaeum, just as in our play the Muse bears the body of Rhesus from Troy.

It must, however, be remembered that Pangaeum was inhabited by a branch of the Pierians who had migrated thither in early times from the district of Pieria, near Mount Olympus. It would not, therefore, be surprising if they gave the name of Leibethra to a locality in their new home; nor would it be strange if the new Leibethra had in time come to be associated with the name of Orpheus.

Perdrizet further objects that nothing in the *Bassarids*, so far as we know, proves that Orpheus was associated on Pangaeum with the cult of the Thracian Bacchus, or that the syncretism which ultimately amalgamated the Dionysiac and Orphic religions was an accomplished fact in the time of Aeschylus.

On this latter point Miss Harrison¹, who believes that "by the time of Herodotus the followers of Orpheus and Bacchus are regarded as substantially identical," cites the passage, where the historian, speaking of certain Egyptian customs, observes that the Egyptians *ὁμολογέουσι ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλευμένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι*².

Perdrizet's own interpretation of our passage is, I think, open to more serious objection. He starts with the assumption that the *προφήτης Βάκχου* is none other than Rhesus himself. Hence the text must be corrupt. We must recall the vexed lines once more to the reader's notice—

κρυπτός δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς
ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος,
Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν
ᾤκησε, σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδῶσιν θεός.

¹ *Proleg.* p. 454.

² Hdt. II. 81.

A late correction in the Palatine MS. reads ὄς τε for ὦστε in the third line. With this alteration the passage runs:—*Rhesus shall lie concealed...the prophet of Bacchus who (Bacchus) made his habitation in Pangæum's rock.* Remembering, however, that ὄς τε is not strictly an Attic use, Perdrizet offers as alternatives the conjectures ὄς γε (Matthiae) or ὦς ὄς (Madvig), which latter has not even the merit of being metrical!

But to disturb a perfectly intelligible text in the interests of a theory, however ingenious, is an altogether uncritical proceeding; and we might add, in Perdrizet's own phrase, "we have no evidence elsewhere of *Rhesus* as prophet of Bacchus." Lycurgus and Orpheus cannot be so easily exorcised.

(3) However we identify the προφήτης, the notion that the dead Rhesus was transported to his native Thrace is as alien to Homer as the 'eschatology' of the Muse's prophecy; and the Homeric tradition on this point represents current Athenian opinion in the fifth century. Polyænus¹ tells us that Hagnon, when founding the colony of Amphipolis (437-6 B.C.), sent an expedition to Troy, at the bidding of an oracle, and brought back the bones of Rhesus, which he buried near the Strymon. The account of Polyænus may be embellished with fanciful details; but when we remember that some forty years previously the Athenians had transferred from Scyros to Athens bones which they believed to be those of Theseus, there seems to be no reason why we should not with Rohde² accept the story of Hagnon's expedition.

Thus we see the Athenians actually believed that the ashes of Rhesus had been laid beneath a heap of gathered ground on the plain of Troy. The poet has obviously followed in this matter a different tradition. Two questions at once suggest themselves: On what authority does the

¹ *Strat.* 6, 53.

² *Psyche*⁴, i. note 2.

poet represent Rhesus as buried in Thrace? What led him to abandon the form of the legend generally accepted in Greece?

We can adduce some grounds for believing that, according to the legends current among the Thracians, the bones of Rhesus rested in some local shrine.

The eagerness of Hagnon and his Athenians to deposit the supposed relics of the hero within the precincts of their colony can hardly be explained, except on the assumption that the hero was already an object of veneration to the natives of the district. Rohde, indeed, regards Rhesus as the ancestor-god of the Edonians, as Zamolxis of the Getae, and Sabazios of other Thracian stocks. To the Athenians, no doubt, Rhesus was simply a Thracian hero, slain and buried in the Troad, whose supernatural protection for the new colony might be secured by bringing back his relics.* But we need not suppose that the Edonians connected the Rhesus whom they worshipped as ancestor-god or national hero with an obscure incident in the tale of Troy.

Bethe¹ has given good reason to suppose that, according to the primitive form of the legend, it was not in Troy that Rhesus perished, but in Thrace itself, warring against the son of Ares, the savage Diomedes, who fed his steeds on human flesh, and was himself at last slain by Heracles; and that the story had reference to the struggles between the native Thracians and the early Greek colonists. Subsequently, when Diomedes was transformed into the chivalrous son of Tydeus, and absorbed into the Trojan story, Rhesus in turn was made an ally of the Trojans, and the scene of his calamity transferred from Thrace to Troy. Among the Thracians it is likely that the Rhesus legend survived in local and primitive forms, superseded for the Greeks by the Homeric version.

Philostratus² tells of a shrine of Rhesus on Mount

¹ *Vide* Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* s.v. Diomedes.

² *Heroic.* p. 691. Philostratus belongs to the earlier half of the 3rd century, A.D.

Rhodope : ‘Rhesus, whom Diomedes slew in Troy, is said to inhabit Rhodope, and they recount many wondrous deeds of his ; for they say that he breeds horses, and marches in armour, and hunts wild beasts ; and, in proof that the hero is a hunter, they tell how the wild boars and gazelles and all the beasts on the mountain come by twos and threes to the altar of Rhesus, and are offered in sacrifice, unbound and unfettered, and yield themselves to the knife ; and this hero is said to ward off plague from his borders. Now, Rhodope is very populous, and there are many villages around the shrine’ (τὸ ἱερόν).

Philostratus, of course, accepts the Homeric version : but the legend he heard at the shrine knows nothing of a catastrophe at Troy. It merely depicts, as Jessen observes, ‘a genuine old Thracian, whose chief concerns are war, the chase, and the breeding of horses¹.’

The survival of this legend on Mount Rhodope in the time of Philostratus favours our contention that centuries earlier, in the Strymon valley, a similar legend was prevalent, associated with some cavern in the district. No doubt as the region became Hellenized, the Greek tradition that the bones of the hero rested in the citadel of Amphipolis overshadowed and killed the local belief.

We can hardly doubt then that (in the words of Farnell) “the poet’s prophecy rests on local knowledge.” In this tragedy he has preferred local legend to Greek tradition ; he has given his hero sepulture not in a Trojan barrow, but in the ‘caverns of the silvery land.’

But why? The poet was confronted with a peculiar problem. A writer who set out to dramatize the legend of Rhesus could hardly change at will the details of a story fixed for ever in the pages of the *Iliad*. But while the *Doloncia* leaves the dead Rhesus in Troy, Thracian tradition (with which the poet evidently had a thorough acquaintance) insisted that somewhere in Thrace—as to exactly where, the

¹ Roscher’s *Lex. art. Rhesus*.

faithful probably differed among themselves—lay the bones of the national hero. The poet was willing to become a debtor both to the Greeks and the barbarians. Thracian tradition ignored rather than denied the death of Rhesus in Troy: the *Doloneia* implies, but does not actually assert, his burial there. The poet saw that he could without violence weld these independent traditions into a consistent whole, by the use of a stage device, suggested perhaps by the *Psychostasia* of Aeschylus.

The introduction of the Muse provides a satisfactory solution of the problem. Nor is it without aesthetic justification. It enables the poet to add a touch of novelty to a familiar tale. It provides opportunity for a striking scenic effect. It imparts to a plot otherwise almost destitute of tragic emotion an element which appeals to 'the general heart of men'—the love and sorrow of a mother for her son.

But if it appears strange that the poet did not provide, as he readily might have done, a prophetic anticipation of the events of 437 B.C., when the body of Rhesus was conveyed home in state by the fleet of the Athenian thalassocrats, the explanation may be that the play was written before that event occurred.

Addendum

Dr Walter Leaf, in an article entitled *Rhesus of Thrace*¹, assails certain of the positions adopted above and seeks (1) to show that Rhesus has no legendary connection with Thrace and never possessed a native cult in the Strymon valley, (2) to explain on this hypothesis the origin of our play.

He believes the Rhesus of the *Doloneia* to be "a purely literary creation of the moment, devoid of local or legendary background," "a poetic fiction created only for the purpose of supplying an effective object for the night attack of Diomedes and Odysseus."

¹ *J.H.S.* xxxv. 1.

In maintaining the thesis that the author of the *Doloneia* invented' Rhesus Dr Leaf points to the vagueness of his place of origin. He has no local habitation. He is called a Thracian ; but "the Thracians in Homer, are, it would seem, confined to the Eastern part" of the region between the Pontic Sea and the mouth of the Axios: they dwell "just north of the Hellespont"; the Western part being to Homer the country of the Cicones and Paeonians. "So far as Rhesus can be given a home, it must be somewhere in the Hebrus valley."

This distinction, however, does not appear to be absolute. When Hera set out on her journey for the beguiling of Zeus¹

αἶξασα λίπεν ῥίον Οὐλύμποιο
Πιερίην ἐπιβᾶσα καὶ Ἑμαθίην ἑρατεινὴν
σεύατ' ἐφ' ἵπποπόλων Θρηκῶν ὄρεα νιφόεντα,
ἀκροτάτας κορυφάς, οὐδὲ χθόνα μάρπτε ποδοῖν,
ἐξ Ἀθώω δ' ἐπὶ πόντον ἐβήσετο κυμαίνοντα.

Here the reference must be to the Chalcidice, and as the Chalcidice lies west of the Strymon it follows that the term Thracian might be applied in Homer to a dweller on the banks of that river.

As we have already seen, the author of the play departs from the *Doloneia* in describing the parentage of his hero. In the *Iliad* he is the son of Eioneus; in the play, of the Strymon. Canon's attempt to reconcile the accounts by regarding Eioneus as an older name of the river, though supported by the name Eion given to the town at its mouth, does not commend itself to Dr Leaf. Eioneus, he argues, only means 'shore-man' and is the name of four or five other personages in Greek mythology. This, however, need not surprise us. Eion is the name of two other places in Thrace and Macedonia ; but if, nevertheless, The Shore was a sufficient designation for the spot at the mouth of the Strymon where the Greeks called for trade with the natives, they might naturally designate the river that flowed out

¹ *Il.* XIV. 224 ff.

there, the 'Shore-stream'¹. Indefinite as the Homeric account of Rhesus may be, there is nothing in it inconsistent with the view that it represents a Thracian saga absorbed into the tale of Troy.

Dr Leaf prefers to think that Rhesus was a purely 'fictitious' character. He does not tell us whether he is unique in this respect among Homeric heroes, or if not, with what other epic personages he is to be compared.

Apart from the *Doloneia* Dr Leaf is dissatisfied with the quantity and quality of the legends concerning Rhesus that have found their way into Greek literature.

There is nothing characteristic in Parthenius' love-tale, and the account of the hero in Philostratus, though strange, does not connect with any other legend.

But (to take an example) has Diomedes, king of the Bistones, much in common with the son of Tydeus, or the Diomedes who was worshipped as a god in Italy?

Dr Leaf makes little of Philostratus because he is a late writer. He does not, however, venture to assert that Philostratus' account of the Rhesus-cult is another 'invention.' It has nothing to do with the *Doloneia* or the Euripidean drama. Where did it come from? Why should we not regard it as testifying to the persistence in a remote region of a native legend and the cult of a native hero? Dr Leaf neither accepts Philostratus nor does he explain him away. Yet he must be explained away before we can be satisfied that the Rhesus of the *Doloneia* is an 'invention.'

Neither will Dr Leaf allow that Rhesus is a Thracian name. The suggested connection with *rex* he calls 'a curious recrudescence of pre-scientific etymology'; he does not however suggest an etymology of his own. If Rhesus was 'invented' by the author of the *Doloneia*, one might reasonably

¹ Or we might understand Eïoneus as 'the man from Eïon' and suppose the divine paternity a later development. The local association is what chiefly concerns us.

suppose that his name would be a Greek word with a meaning as clear as that of his father Eioneus.

Dr Leaf attaches great importance to Cicero's statement that Orpheus and Rhesus, though of divine parentage, are nowhere worshipped ('nusquam coluntur'). "We are safe in concluding from Cicero's words that the Alexandrines not only knew of no worship of Rhesus, but that they did not consider the tragedy as evidence of such worship."

It is very probable that the Amphipolitans, after the capture of the city by Brasidas, began to neglect the Rhesus-cult. If there had been a native cult on the banks of the Strymon, it might have disappeared when the region became Hellenised. In any case the Athenians lost interest in Rhesus, and the Alexandrine critics would not concern themselves with what went on in the villages round Rhodope.

Having thus satisfied himself that there is not "the least reason for supposing that the Edonians had ever heard of Rhesus" Dr Leaf gives his theory of the origin of the play. "The tragedy of *Rhesus* was a *pièce d'occasion* and the occasion was the founding of Amphipolis. It is a political piece intended to encourage the expedition. The *Rhesus* was written in the year 437 or very near it." The manner of its composition was this: "The author of the *Rhesus* has no source for his story save Homer and his own imagination. He is strictly limited by Homer till he reaches his theophany; then he is quite unrestricted. These are conditions unknown elsewhere. And he is working under strictly hieratic influence,—he has to appear as a champion of the mysteries in their most official and conventional aspect—to represent them as guiding infallibly a piece of state policy."

Dr Leaf in his explanation of the Muse's prophecy follows Maass: Orpheus is Bacchus' *προφήτης* with his shrine on the hills: Rhesus will have a similar shrine on the plain. But he takes a subtler meaning out of the Muse's¹ complaint

¹ Dr Leaf thinks Rhesus' relationship to the Muses an invention of Euripides. Does he then suppose the proximity of the shrine of

against Athena. Instead of regarding it as merely the expression of a mother's grief and indignation, he interprets it as a call to Athens to right the wrong Athene committed. The Muses have been very gracious to Athens in giving her the mysteries of Orpheus and Musaeus, but Athene has been ungrateful in bringing about the death of Rhesus. The only remedy is to restore the hero to his native soil.

But if the story of Rhesus has no root in Thracian legend how did the poet know that the Strymon region was his native soil? Dr Leaf refers to the oracle cited by Polyaeus which told the Athenians they should have no success in founding Amphipolis

πρὶν ἂν κομίσητ' ἀπὸ Τροίης
 'Ρήσου ἀνευρόντες καλᾶμην, πατρίῃ δὲ τ' ἀρούρη
 κρύψητ' εὐαγέως.

But whence did the oracle derive the information? It *invented* it. "If the oracle had to find and to recommend to Athens a Thracian hero who had died away from his own land, and whose grave was known, so that his bones could be repatriated, it would seem that the choice was singularly limited....Rhesus came from Thrace; the name is vague enough; why not make him the son of the Strymon?"

Dr Leaf, then, believes in three 'inventions.' The author of the *Doloneia* 'invents' Rhesus; the oracle 'invents' his connection with the Strymon; Euripides 'invents' his relationship to the Muses. We prefer still to think that there was a legendary basis for all three. This is the main point at issue.

But we cannot help feeling that the play is not suitable to the occasion to which Dr Leaf (as Vater before him) has attributed it. The occasion was the conveying home of the relics of Rhesus. But in the play the Muse refuses the kind offices of Hector and herself takes charge of the body for conveyance home. Surely the appearance of the play in

Clio to the memorial of Rhesus in Amphipolis (mentioned by Marsyas) a mere coincidence, or a result of Euripides' fiction?

437 B.C. would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of Hagnon's expedition to Troy. If the play is by Euripides at all it must have been written before the romantic exploit of Hagnon, and the oracle which was its inspiration.

II. THE LITERARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLAY

A work of art composed in a distant age, in an environment which we can but imperfectly comprehend, must of necessity remain something of an enigma. We cannot tell precisely what impression it was intended to produce on the mind of contemporaries approaching it with preconceptions which the modern reader does not share. Yet it is only in so far as we succeed in placing ourselves in the mental attitude of those for whom it was written that we can justly criticize it at all. We are thus forced to ask, What was the poet's purpose in writing the *Rhesus*? At first sight the answer is simple. It appears the most unpretentious of extant tragedies. It was written, we feel, not to suggest a problem, but to tell a story, and that simply for the sake of the story itself. What we ought to admire is the manner in which the familiar tale is presented to us, the vivid picture of the Trojan camp on that night of suspense and agony, the swiftness with which incident succeeds incident and one emotion passes into another, the appropriateness of the speeches, the rich colour of the style. And this impression of the play would probably be right. At any rate we should find many excellent critics on our side.

Most of the attempts to read a deeper significance into the tragedy are too far-fetched to need criticism. But the view of a recent writer on Euripides, Dr H. Steiger¹, deserves notice. Steiger maintains that the poet in treating the Homeric myth adopts the attitude not of a mere artist but of a moral critic, who has read the *Doloneia* with indignation and is filled with rage against its gods and heroes. While

¹ *Euripides, seine Dichtung und seine Persönlichkeit* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 90 ff.

the poet of the *Doloneia* regards the slaying of the Thracians in their sleep as an heroic adventure, the poet of the play sees in it only a savage and brutal murder. He condemns alike the heroes who did the deed and the goddess who incited them to it. The poet of the play, unlike Homer, sides with the Trojans, and if we find something of the braggart in both Hector and Rhesus, it is because the poet is out of sympathy with war and warriors. But the fundamental teaching of the *Rhesus* is 'murder remains murder though Pallas Athene preside over it from beginning to end.' Such teaching, adds Steiger, is notably Euripidean, and is an argument for the genuineness of the play.

But is this the fundamental doctrine of the *Rhesus*, or does it not rather represent an ingenious but one-sided interpretation of it? Steiger points out two modifications made by the poet in the Homeric story, first, that our sympathy is claimed for the Trojans, not the Greeks; secondly, that the goddess Athene intervenes to protect the heroes while engaged in their deed of blood. But the first modification was, as Steiger himself admits, a dramatic necessity; and, though the action of Athene renders the work of the heroes less perilous and therefore less heroic than it appears in the Homeric version, we have no reason to suppose that the poet wished to brand it as an atrocity. It is futile to compare, as Steiger does, the position of things in the *Rhesus* with that described in the *Troades*. In the latter play the poet shows how the sack of a city affects the non-combatants, unoffending women and children. But Rhesus and his followers suffered a fate for which any soldier must be prepared. They were slain during the actual progress of a campaign. Their ally Hector had, not an hour before, sent Dolon to the camp of the Greeks, and the chorus had prayed that it might be his fortune to slay Agamemnon or Menelaus in precisely the same fashion as Diomedes slays Rhesus. The words of Rhesus which Steiger quotes,

οὐδείς ἀνὴρ εὖψυχος ἀξιοῖ λάθρα
κτείνει τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ἀλλ' ἰὼν κατὰ στόμα,

are obviously spoken in character, and there is no more reason to regard them as containing the poet's verdict on the transaction than there is to suppose that the notorious

ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος

of Hippolytus was a guiding principle of the poet's own life. As for the reproach against Athene (v. 937 ff.), it is uttered by the mother of Rhesus, no disinterested critic, and even she exclaims against the conduct of the goddess not as inhuman but as ungrateful in view of the Muses' many services to Athens.

Yet we must admit an element of truth in Steiger's contention. The poet, as he says, was no friend to wars or battle-cries. As Professor Murray¹ with his usual insight observes of the last scene of the play, "what is most characteristic is the sudden flavour of bitterness, the cold wind that so suddenly takes the heart out of joyous war." Though we may not follow Steiger in regarding the play as a rationalistic or humanitarian pamphlet, we may yet find in this 'bitter flavour' the mark of Euripides.

III. THE TEXT

Kirchhoff in his critical edition of Euripides (Berlin, 1855) showed that our extant MSS. fall into two distinct classes giving different recensions of the text. The first class represents an edition of nine select plays (including the *Rhesus*) with scholia; the second, an edition of the nineteen extant plays. Kirchhoff attached much greater importance to the MSS. of the former class; but his estimate has been modified by later critics, e.g. Nauck, Wilamowitz and Prinz, who, while admitting a greater number of errors and interpolations in the second class of MSS., regard them nevertheless as but little inferior in authority.

¹ *Euripides and his Age*, p. 71.

In indicating the MSS. I have followed Murray's symbols. For the *Rhesus*, of MSS. possessing independent authority the following belong to Kirchhoff's first class :

Vaticanus 909, cited as V, Kirchhoff's B, 12th or 13th century, *Laurentianus* XXXI, 10, as O, Kirchhoff's C, 14th century.

The chief representatives of his second class are :

Laurentianus XXXII, 2, L, Kirchhoff's C, 14th century. *Palatinus* 287, P, Kirchhoff's B, 14th century.

Of all these V is, for the *Rhesus*, undoubtedly the best, O is of value chiefly for its close approximation to the *Marcianus*, the best MS. of Euripides. As the *Rhesus* is not found in the *Marcianus*, O is occasionally useful. It contains vv. 1-714 of our play.

The exact relation of L to P is uncertain. Wilamowitz¹ believes them to be both derived directly from a lost MS. written not earlier than the 12th century, from which L was copied about the beginning, P towards the end of the 14th century.

Of inferior MSS. the *codex Hauniensis* (Haun.), of the 15th century belongs to the first of Kirchhoff's two classes. It closely resembles V, of which some have even regarded it as a copy, but it has suffered from contamination and interpolation. Wilamowitz denies it all authority, but for the *Rhesus* it is of use where V is mutilated (vv. 112-151, 531-630, 940-996). The consensus of the copy of V, known as *Palatinus inter Vaticanos* 98, with Haun., I have followed Murray in denoting as (V).

The cod. *Harleianus*, a very late MS., is of use chiefly for the argument.

The Ambrosian fragments (12th or 13th century) contain *Rhesus* 856-884. Vv. 48-96 are found in a fragment of a papyrus (4th or 5th century) known as *cod. Panopolitanus*.

¹ *Anal. Eur.* pp. 3-9.

Some light is thrown upon the text by the *Christus Patiens*, a cento of passages from the *Rhesus*, *Bacchae*, *Troades* and *Hippolytus*, containing some 2000 lines. The author has borrowed some fifty lines from our play, but his frequent disregard of quantity combined with the limitations of vocabulary which he has imposed upon himself, seriously diminishes the value of the cento as a testimony to the original readings.

IV. THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

A. *External Evidence*

The fact of the *Rhesus* having come down to us in the MSS. of Euripides affords in itself a presumption of its authenticity. Further evidence bearing on the question is to be sought in the scholia and the arguments prefixed to the play.

The scholia except for a few interlinear and marginal glosses are found in one MS. only, V. They are divided by Wilamowitz¹ into three classes :

(1) *explanations of single words*, derived, in his opinion, from ancient lexica ;

(2) *paraphrases* of the more difficult passages with explanations of complicated constructions ;

(3) scholia in which the paraphrast has incorporated *criticisms directed against the poet*, on the ground of some absurdity or improbability, or some error in legend or mythology.

The paraphrast (to whom Wilamowitz attributes our scholia in their present form) has made constant use of a mythological handbook, dating perhaps from the first century, A.D.

Of the three classes of scholia the last alone possesses features of special interest.

¹ *De Rhesi Scholiis*: Greifswald, 1889.

It was a custom of ancient critics to affix the symbol χ to passages which they regarded as open to objection, and to those also which seemed to them to illustrate or explain the difficulty involved. In several instances our scholia directly refer to this symbol. In vv. 237–240 the poet mentions

Φθιάδων ἱππων.....
τὰς πόντιος Αἰακίδα
Πηλεΐ δίδωσι δαίμων.

On v. 240 the scholiast observes: τὰς· ὅτι θηλυκῶς· Ὅμηρος ‘Ξάνθον καὶ Βαλίον’ καὶ ‘Ποσειδάων ἔπορ’ αὐτούς.’ διὸ τὸ χ . He blames the poet for describing the steeds of Achilles as *mares*, since Homer speaks of them as horses. The χ must originally have been affixed also to v. 185 which proves that the steeds referred to as mares in v. 240 were the veritable Homeric horses of Achilles. V. 185 reads:

ἐξ ἀφθίτων γὰρ ἄφθιτοι πεφυκότες

and has appended to it a scholium which would be meaningless except in reference to v. 240: πὰρ· Ὅμηρου ἔλαβε τὴν ἱστορίαν. That is to say, the poet’s use of the epithet ἄφθιτοι shows that he derived his information from Homer, yet he is so shamefully inaccurate as to refer afterwards to the animals in the feminine!

A reference to the χ is found again only in the scholia on vv. 41 and 716, but we find many scholia containing adverse criticism of the poet without making (in their present form) explicit reference to the symbol. To give two examples: on v. 165 which reads,

τάξαι δὲ μισθὸν πλὴν ἐμῆς τυραννίδος,

the comment is, γελοῖον τὸ οἶσθαι ὅτι βασιλείαν αἰτήσῃ.

On vv. 259 ff.

κτανῶν δ’ Ἀγαμεμόνιον
κρᾶτ’ ἐνέγκοι Ἑλένα κακόγαμβρον
ἐς χέρας γόον.....

the scholiast, objecting to the use of the word κακόγαμβρον of

Agamemnon in his relation to Helen, comments οὐκ ἀκριβῶς εἴρηκεν · οὐ γὰρ Ἀ. τῇ Ἑ. γαμβρός.

Finally, we find instances where adverse criticism is followed by vindication of the poet ; e.g. on v. 356, where it is said of Rhesus,

ἦ κεις διφρεύων βαλιδίσι πώλοισι,

the scholiast objects οὐ κυρίως νῦν τῇ λέξει κέχρηται, λευκάς γὰρ εἶχεν, ὥς καὶ ἀνωτέρω αὐτὰς ἔφη but the vindication is added δύνатаι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘ταχείας.’

Again in vv. 507 f. where the charge is made against Odysseus,

ἀεὶ δ' ἐν λόχοις εὐρίσκεται

Θυμβραῖον ἀμφὶ βωμόν ἄστεως πέλας

θάσσω,

the scholiast, after citing Dionysodorus for the statement that the altar was distant fifty stadia from the city, adds the inept vindication : δύνатаι δὲ καὶ στίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ βωμόν, ἦ ἄστεως πέλας. οὐδὲν γὰρ τὸ κωλῦον.

We find then in this ‘third class’ of scholia on the *Rhesus*, objections made to statements of the poet, followed in some instances¹ by refutation of the objections.

How are the peculiarities to be accounted for?

Wilamowitz supposes that there was composed in the Alexandrian age a *critical edition* of the *Rhesus* in which verses containing matter for comment were marked with the symbol χ. Not later than the first century B.C. a treatise was composed to explain why the χ was affixed to the several verses in this edition. Wilamowitz is inclined to date this treatise before Christ, since in the relics of it extant in our scholia there is no mention of any grammarian of later date than Aristarchus (died B.C. 146) and his disciples. Afterwards there arose another grammarian who added a new commentary to that of his predecessor, refuting his criticisms

¹ Scholia containing criticisms without refutation are found on vv. 165, 260, 427, 502, 521, 716.

so far as he could. This commentary was used as a foundation by the paraphrast to whom we owe our present scholia. The compiler of the latter of these commentaries we may for convenience call 'the vindicator,' and his predecessor 'the critic.'

Assuming Wilamowitz to be correct in his account of the origin of these scholia, we ask, what was the purpose of the 'editio *κεχιασμένη*' and the treatise explanatory of it.

Wilamowitz finds no trace of a similar edition of any other Euripidean play. He concludes that the object of the critic was to prove the *Rhesus* spurious.

The theory of Wilamowitz cannot be brought to any very decisive test. But little of the critic's work has survived, and this only after passing through the hands of his opponent, the vindicator, from whom the paraphrast who drew up our scholia is supposed to have derived them. It is possible that the vindicator, while labouring to refute the criticisms in detail, suppressed all mention of the thesis which they were intended to establish. At any rate one might read the scholia from beginning to end without finding any hint that any one had ever questioned the authenticity of the play. In two passages the criticism takes the form of a charge against *Euripides*. The verses 250 ff. are thus given in the MSS. :

ἔστι Φρυγῶν τις
ἔστιν ἄλκιμος, ἐνὶ δὲ θράσος
ἐν αἰχμᾷ ποτὶ Μυσῶν ὃς ἐμὴν
συμαχίαν ἀτίζει.

The scholiast, who understands the words *ποτὶ Μυσῶν* in the sense 'like a Mysian,' and supposes a reference to the proverb *ἔσχατος Μυσῶν* (which he explains at great length), embodies in his note the following criticism, *κέχρηται δὲ καὶ νῦν Εὐριπίδης*¹ *τῇ παροιμίᾳ παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους*.

¹ Wilamowitz however asserts, without giving any grounds for the assertion, "hoc nomen primitus hic non legebatur" (*De Schol. Rhesi*, p. 11).

Again on v. 430

ἔνθ' αἵματηρὸς πέλανος ἐς γαῖαν Σκύθης
ἦντλεῖτο

the scholiast objects to the use of πέλανος in reference to *liquid* blood and proceeds, ἀκύρως δὲ κέχρηται τῷ πέλανος, ἄμεινον δὲ ἐτέρωθι εἶπεν ἀφρώδη πέλανον. As ἐτέρωθι refers to *Orest.* 220, it would seem that the two plays are assumed to be by the same author.

Moreover, in schol. 508 and 529 Dionysodorus and Crates are quoted, who in the very act of fault-finding, proclaim their belief in the Euripidean *provenance* of the play. We find no suggestion that the critic who quoted them was less 'orthodox' than they.

There remains the difficult scholium on v. 41. V here reads πυραίθει στρατὸς Ἀργόλας.

The scholiast, who is ignorant of any readings other than those found in V, comments: τὸ χ ὅτι συνθέτως ἀναγινώσκεται, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν Εὐριπίδου ὁ στίχος¹. The first clause recognises the fact that πυραίθει is an incorrectly formed compound; what is the meaning of the second? The verse is necessary to the sense and is required by the strophic correspondence. Wilamowitz proposes to delete the words ὁ στίχος, as "Byzantini supplementum," and explains the clause 'and because it (the play) is not the work of Euripides.' Presumably Wilamowitz means that this verse is the sole survivor of a series of verses marked with χ, as containing anomalies, the cumulative effect of which satisfied the critic that the play was spurious. But can any sense be derived from the note as it stands? The line is marked with χ, 'because πυραίθει is read as a compound word and the verse (consequently) does not come from Euripides.' Might this not mean that the verse in its present form is bad Greek, therefore non-Euripidean and therefore corrupt?

¹ Schol. thus given by Murray (*crit. note* v. 41) who would read ἦ for καὶ. Dindorf gives ἀναγνωστέον instead of ἀναγινώσκεται as the reading of V.

This single scholium, as emended and interpreted by himself, is the only evidence Wilamowitz produces for his theory that the author of the adverse criticisms was trying to prove our play spurious. We have however cited four passages of adverse criticism which in their present form point to an opposite conclusion.

Wilamowitz may be right about the *form* in which the criticisms originally appeared, but in any event we see nothing to prevent us from regarding them as the work of an Alexandrian using the play as a 'corpus vile' on which to exercise his ingenuity, without any *arrière pensée* as to its authorship.

It is clear, at any rate, that Dionysodorus (schol. 508) and Crates regarded the play as genuine, and the probability is that Parmeniscus (schol. 529) and Aristarchus (schol. 540) were of the same opinion.

We now turn to the two Arguments. The former of these contains our only evidence that the *Rhesus* was suspected in antiquity. The anonymous author, after summarizing the plot, proceeds:

τοῦτο τὸ δράμα ἔνιοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν Εὐριπίδου δὲ μὴ εἶναι· τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνει [ὑποφαίνειν Valckenaer] χαρακτηῖρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ὡς γνήσιον ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πολυπραγμοσύνη τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὁμολογεῖ.

In this passage Wilamowitz finds his theory of the origin of our scholia confirmed. Here, too, he recognizes the 'critic' and the 'vindicator.' But are not the grounds on which the attack is made entirely different in the two cases? The ἔνιοι suspected the genuineness of the play because they felt the style to be that of Sophocles rather than Euripides. The critic in the scholia pilloried the poet for referring to the horses of Achilles in the feminine, for calling the white steeds of Rhesus βαλιδάι, for the anachronism of representing the theft of the Palladium as prior to the arrival of the Thracians, for making Adrasteia daughter of Zeus! Which

of these eccentricities, we may ask, would Wilamowitz regard as belonging to the *Σοφόκλειος χαρακτήρ*? Walda¹ calls attention to the form of the sentence, in which the notion 'spurious' is conveyed, both positively (*νόθον*) and negatively (*Εὐριπίδου δὲ μὴ εἶναι*). This is done, he suggests, to mark more emphatically the antithesis of the clauses. The *ἔνιοι* doubted the *Euripidean* authorship of the *Rhesus*, τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον χαρακτῆρα ὑποφαίνει. It would be well if the exact ground and nature of this judgment were always remembered by modern scholars.

It is not easy to discover wherein consists the *Σοφόκλειος χαρακτήρ*. The student, as he reads the play, may be impressed by an element of richness and romance alien to the usual manner of Euripides; he may observe the close relation of the choral odes to the action of the piece; he may be struck by the similarity of the *rôles* played by Athena in the *Rhesus* and the *Ajax*. But anything distinctively Sophoclean he will fail to detect. Nor have the careful researches of Eysert and Rolfe brought to light any special resemblances in style or treatment between the *Rhesus* and the extant plays of Sophocles.

Wilamowitz conjectures that our play is an imitation of Sophocles' *Ποιμένες*, of which a few fragments remain. The scene of the *Ποιμένες* was laid in the Trojan camp; the deaths of Protesilaus and Cynus provide a double catastrophe like the deaths of Dolon and Rhesus in our play; the chorus

¹ *Zur Rhesosfrage* (Jahres-Bericht des Staats-Gymnasiums : Prachatitz, 1908).

There is a passage in the article on the life and style of Thucydides attributed to Marcellinus (c. 500 A.D.) the language of which bears a remarkable resemblance to that of the present passage : λέγουσι δέ τινες τὴν ὀγδόην ἱστορίαν νοθεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι Θουκυδίδου, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν φασιν εἶναι τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ Ξενοφώντος. After objecting to the first of these alternatives, the author proceeds ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ Ξενοφώντος ἐστίν, ὁ χαρακτήρ μόνον οὐχὶ βοᾷ· πολὺ γὰρ τὸ μέσον ἰσχυροῦ χαρακτῆρος καὶ ὑψηλοῦ.

of shepherds corresponds to the shepherd who reports the coming of the Thracians. But our knowledge of the *Ποιμένες* is too scanty to enable us to theorize with confidence upon its relation (if any) to the *Rhesus*.

To return to the first Argument. Its author rebuts the suspicion of the *ἔνιοι* partly by the somewhat puerile contention that the astronomical passage (*Rhesus* 526–537) betrays the hand of Euripides, well known for his interest in physical science; partly by the definite statement that the play is inscribed as genuine in the *didascaliae*. This latter statement is of great importance. Of the authority of the *didascaliae* there can be no reasonable doubt. If we were quite certain that the reference in the *didascaliae* was to our *Rhesus*, there would be an end of the controversy. Curiously enough, it is the very next sentence of the Argument which, as much as any other consideration, has led many scholars to doubt whether this is so.

The Argument proceeds: *πρόλογοι δὲ διπτοὶ φέρονται. ὁ γοῦν Δικαίαρχος* [Nauck and all succeeding editors for MSS. *δικαίαν*] *ἐκτιθείς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ Ῥήσου γράφει κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως· ‘νῦν εὐσέληνον φέγγος ἢ διφρήλατος.’ καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἕτερός τις φέρεται πρόλογος περὶ πάνυ καὶ οὐ πρέπων Εὐριπίδῃ· καὶ τάχα ἄντινες τῶν ὑποκριτῶν διεσκευακότες εἶεν αὐτόν· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως.*

“Two prologues are extant. Dicaearchus, at any rate, in expounding the subject of the *Rhesus* writes word for word ‘νῦν.....διφρήλατος.’ And in some of the copies also there is extant another prologue, very prosy and not worthy of Euripides; and perhaps it may be the composition of some of the actors. It runs as follows.” [Then come eleven uninspiring tribrachs.]¹

The author of the first Argument, then, knew of three different openings to the *Rhesus*: (1) the anapaests spoken by the chorus of guards—the only opening known to Aris-

¹ See first Argument *infra*.

tophanes of Byzantium¹, (2) the prologue found in the *ὑπόθεσις* of Dicaearchus, (3) 'the very prosy verses perhaps put together by the actors.'

How are we to account for the variety? Or, if we assume the author of the Argument to be right about (3) what are we to say of (2)?

It has been suggested that (2) was the prologue of the real *Rhesus* of Euripides which had been lost and forgottenⁿ before the days of Aristophanes of Byzantium (ob. c. 180 *ante Chr.*). In the interval our extant play came to be substituted for the lost masterpiece and was handed down to us as genuine.

This theory, originated by Morstadt, has been supported by Menzer, Hagenbach, and somewhat dubiously by Rolfe.

It may be admitted as in the highest degree probable that *our* play never possessed a prologue in organic unity with the rest. But it is quite possible that the Dicaearchan prologue was a mere addition to the original play and that Dicaearchus quoted it as such.

That prologue, we are told, was published in the *ὑπόθεσις* of Dicaearchus. From Sextus Empiricus (*adv. Math.* III. 3) we learn that Dicaearchus wrote *ὑποθέσεις* to Sophocles and Euripides. From the discussion by Sextus of the various applications of the word *ὑπόθεσις*, Schrader² concludes that the *ὑποθέσεις* of Dicaearchus were 'no excerpts from the dramas, but an investigation into the mythical material underlying them.' Dicaearchus then would not have quoted the prologue as an elegant extract from the play, but rather to establish or illustrate some feature in the treatment of the myth. Had the prologue been an integral portion of the play, a reference or at most the quotation of the relevant passage would have sufficed. The citation of the prologue

¹ v. second Arg't *infra*. For *προλογίζουσι*=*open the play* cf. first Arg. *Oed. Col.* (*ad fin.*) *προλογίζει* Οἰδίπους.

² v. Martini in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Dicaearchus.

κατὰ λέξιν, 'word for word,' may be held to confirm the view that it was a later addendum.

Morstadt and his followers sought by sacrificing our play to save the authority of Dicaearchus. But Wilamowitz sweeps away the play, the prologue, and the critical reputation of Dicaearchus in one general ruin. In the course of some remarks on the plays of the fourth century he asserts dogmatically: 'The *Rhesus*, which arose about 370-60, already about 300 possessed one spurious prologue and by about 200 another!' Our play then began its career of deception early and deceived the very elect; for Dicaearchus (347-287 B.C.) was not only the disciple of the first compiler of *didascaliae*, Aristotle, but a literary critic who composed *ὑποθέσεις* to the plays of Sophocles and Euripides; yet we are to believe he mistook for a play of Euripides a piece not twenty years older than himself!

But as we have seen the citation of a prologue by Dicaearchus in his *ὑπόθεσις* does not necessarily mean that the critic regarded it as an integral portion of the play: hence we may still believe our *Rhesus* genuine and suppose (with Prof. Murray) 'that it was performed more than once after the poet's death and adapted by the producer for each occasion'; comparing the *Iphigenia in Aulis* 'which like the *Rhesus* and like no other Greek tragedy has two alternative openings, one a dull prologue, and one a lyrical scene in anapaests under the stars.' Dr Leaf, who believes in the authenticity of the play, argues that it cannot well be later than 424 B.C. After the loss of Amphipolis the Athenians would not be in the mood for listening to a play about Thrace. We have tried above to show that the subject-matter of the last scene would seem incongruous to an audience which remembered the circumstances attending the expedition of Hagnon, and are therefore inclined to date the play considerably before 437. Our only information on the matter is contained in the scholium (on v. 529) which attributes the following statement to Crates:

. ¹ *Heracles*, ed. I, p. 130 *ad fin.*

Κράτης ἀγνοεῖν φησι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὴν περὶ τὰ μετέωρα θεωρίαν, διὰ τὸ νέον ἔτι εἶναι ὅτε τὸν Ῥῆσον ἐδίδασκε.

The charge against the poet was a false one, based upon a careless reading of a single passage, but the statement contained in the latter clause may have been founded on external evidence now lost. Euripides was born in 480 B.C.

B. *Internal Evidence*

Vocabulary

Assailants of the *Rhesus* have founded their strongest argument on its vocabulary. Valckenaer, the most confident of them all, asserted: 'there are more unexampled words (*ἄπαξ εἰρημένα*) in the *Rhesus* alone than in all the extant plays and fragments of Euripides combined.' This line of attack was developed by Hermann and Hagenbach¹, the latter of whom compiled from the play lists of (1) *ἄπαξ εἰρημένα*, (2) words not found in the extant works or fragments of the three great tragedians.

It was not however till the appearance of a pamphlet by Eysert² that the linguistic comparison between the *Rhesus* and the other Euripidean plays was carried out on systematic lines. The independent investigations of J. C. Rolfe³ cover much the same ground and serve to confirm Eysert's main conclusions.

Eysert begins with the *ἄπαξ εἰρημένα*. He provides a complete list of these for all the plays and fragments of Euripides, and finds that the *Rhesus* contains just one-eighteenth of the total number. The number of *ἄπαξ εἰρ.* per hundred lines in the various plays is as follows: *Cyclops* 3·1, *Rhesus* 2·81, *Iph. Taur.* 2·34, *Phœn.* 2·27, *Bacch.* 2·23, *Ion* 2·22, *Herc. Fur.* 1·97, *Iph. Aul.* 1·96, *Suppl.* 1·86,

¹ *De Rheso Trag.* Bâle, 1865.

² *Rhesus im Lichte des Euripideischen Sprachgebrauches* (1891).

³ *The Tragedy Rhesus* (Harvard Studies, IV), 1892.

Electra 1·84, *Hel.* 1·59, *Troad.* 1·35, *Hipp.* 1·29, *Orest.* 1·28, *Hec.* 1·23, *Andr.* 0·79, *Heracleidae* 0·76, *Med.* 0·63, *Alc.* 0·60.

These figures need no comment. The argument of Valckenaer and his followers simply crumbles away.

It will be convenient for the student to have Eysert's list of ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in the *Rhesus*. Rolfe adds ἀνθρωποδαίμων, which is used, but in a quite different sense, by Procopius. As may be seen from the commentary many of the words are only unique by accident, similar formations being not infrequent in classical literature.

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| ἀμβλώψ 737, | κεροδετος 33, | ράκόδυτος 712, |
| ἄησις 417, | μηνάς 534, | ταχυβάτης 134, |
| ἀριστότοκος 909, | νυκτίβρομος 552, | τετράμοιρος 5, |
| δίβαμος 215, | οἶνοπλάνητος 363, | τευχοφόρος 3, |
| ἐξαυγής 304, | ὀφειλέτις 965, | φυλλόστρωτος 9, |
| θουατήριον 315, | πανημερεύω 361, | χρυσόβωλος 921, |
| κακόγαμβρος 260, | πολυπινής 716, | χρυσοτευχής 340, |
| καλλιγέφυρος 349, | προπότης 361, | ψαφαρόχρως 716. |
| καρανιστής 817, | προσαύλειος 273, | |
| καρποποιός 964, | προυξερευνητής 296, | |

The remaining calculations of Eysert show that in vocabulary the *Rhesus* differs in no marked way from the other Euripidean tragedies.

Out of 74 words found more than once in the Euripidean plays, and nowhere else in Greek literature, 8 come from the *Rhesus*.

Of words (other than epic reminiscences) occurring once only in the tragic poets, while the *Rhesus* has 5·42 to every hundred lines the *Bacchae* has 7·4. (See *infra* p. 93.)

Of Homeric words found once only in the Tragic poets the *Rhesus* has fewer than either the *Phoenissae* or the *Cyclops*.

As the *Rhesus* and the *Cyclops* are the only two plays whose plot is derived from Homer, it is not without interest to compare the Homeric words peculiar to each.

Rhesus has : ἀμπείρας (514), δέχθαι (525), ἐπιθρώσκω (100), μέμβλωκα (629), μέρμερος (509), πολυπεύω (744).

From *Cyclops* Eysert cites: ἀνακαίω (383), ἀνθρακιά (358), ἄσπετος (615), ἀλῆς (363), βόειος (218), βοτάνη (45), δασύμαλλος (360), δινῆεις (46), εἴσομαι, fut. of εἶμι (62), λύγος (225), μηκάς (189), συμμάρπτω (397), τέφρα (641), χηρόω (304).

Rolfe has compiled elaborate lists, comparing the vocabulary of the *Rhesus* with that of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus respectively. His conclusion is: "The language of the *Rhesus* is Aeschylean rather than Euripidean, while the resemblance to the language of Sophocles is slight. There is certainly no servile imitation of any one of the three."

It remains to notice certain words and expressions which seem to Wecklein to be strong evidence that our *Rhesus* is not the work of Euripides:

ἀνθρωποδαίμων (971). If the word is unique so apparently is the position in reference to which the term is applied to *Rhesus*. See above, p. xix.

τείνεσθαι εἰς τι (875). The act. is regular but the passive is found in this sense (in the perfect) Plato, *Rep.* 581 B, *Phaedrus* 270 E, *Latws* 770 D.

προταυί is said to be a Boeotian word (schol. 523) but occurs nowhere else. As Paley urges, its very strangeness is an argument that the play in which it occurs is not a conscious imitation of an older poet.

δόρη. This, though not a tragic form, is found in a comedy of Theopompus. See Comm.

δέχθαι and μέμβλωκα (525, 629) are Homeric forms not found in Attic, but *Cyclops* has εἴσομαι (from εἶμι), a no less startling aberration.

Wecklein also thinks that Euripides was incapable of writing the phrase ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων five times in the course of some five hundred lines, and στείχειν eleven times in the same play, but we have no certainty that the taste of Euripides in such a matter was the same as that of Dr Wecklein.

The argument based on the use of πελτασταί is more serious because not subjective. "This word," writes Rolfe,

“which first occurs Thuc. II. 29, does not seem to have been formed before the Peloponnesian War when the Athenians had Thracian allies.” It might, however, be argued that in Thrace where the *παραστᾶι* came from, the word was current much earlier. The poet of the *Rhesus*, as we have seen, exhibits a close acquaintance with Thrace and Thracian customs. To take a modern example, our word *khaki*, although long in use among Anglo-Indians, remained unfamiliar to many civilians at home, otherwise well informed, until the days of the South African War.

Phrasology

Even the casual reader will recognize the difference between the manner and tone of the *Rhesus* and the manner and tone of the other Euripidean plays. Hence those critics who admit it as genuine have accepted the dictum of Crates and assigned it to the youth of the poet. Hagenbach, however, compiled a list containing some 84 expressions identical with or closely resembling phrases found only in the later works of Euripides. This list has been revised by Rolfe; many resemblances he disregards as being without significance; to many expressions classified by Hagenbach as Euripidean he has found parallels in Aeschylus or Sophocles. There remain some thirty passages on which Rolfe bases his conclusion that the author of our play ‘was acquainted with all the works of Euripides and hence lived after his time.’

We shall do well not to lay too much stress upon such a test, remembering that while we have only seven plays remaining from each of the earlier tragedians, we have eighteen from Euripides, that these all belong to the later years of the poet’s life, and that consequently we have very little material for judging what the common stock of poetical expression was in Euripides’ early manhood.

There is also the probability, suggested by the existence of alternative openings, that our play was revised for reproduction after the death of Euripides.

For these reasons it is difficult to derive any positive conclusion from the investigations of Rolfe and Hagenbach.

We may feel pretty sure that v. 308 of our play

πολλοῖσι σὺν κώδωσιν ἐκτύπει φόβον

owes its origin to the

χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον

of Aesch. *Sept.* 373 [produced in B.C. 467] but none of the Euripidean parallels is similarly convincing. The reader may judge their general character from the first half dozen of those compiled by Hagenbach and admitted as satisfactory by Rolfe, who indicates no 'order of merit' in his parallels.

Rhesus 7. ὕρθου κεφαλὴν. cf. ὕρθωσον κάρη, *Heracl.* 635.

ὀρθοῦτε κάρη, *Hirrh.* 198. ὕρθου πρόσωπον, *Alc.* 388.

„ 8. λῦσον βλεφάρων γοργωπὸν ἔδραν. cf. στρυγνὴν ὀφρὺν λύσασα, *Hirrh.* 290.

„ 55. σαίνει μ' ἔννυχος φρυκτωρία. cf. οὐ γάρ με σαίνει θέσφατα, *Ion* 685.

„ 59. φαεννοὶ ἡλίου λαμπτήρες. cf. φαενναῖς ἡλίου περιπτυχαῖς, *Ion* 1517.

„ 85. μάλα σπουδῇ ποδός. cf. καὶ μὴν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔρχεται σπουδῇ ποδός, *Hec.* 216.

„ 90. πυκάζε τεύχεσιν δέμας σέθεν. cf. κόσμφ πυκάζου τῶδε, *Heracl.* 725, and πύκαζε κρᾶτ' ἐμὸν νικηφόρον, *Tro.* 353.

Syntax

Rolfe's syntactical inquiries do not lead to any more definite results. With apologies for the scantiness of his collection, he cites the following peculiarities as tending to throw suspicion on the view that the play is an early work of Euripides : (1) the preference for σὺν over μετὰ in the *Rhesus* contrary to the general usage of the poet who employs μετὰ more often than the other two tragedians ; (2) the frequent use in the play of a genitive qualifying a noun after a prepo-

sition instead of the adjective elsewhere customary (e.g. *ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων* vv. 150, 155, 203, 221, 589); (3) the rarity of anastrophe in our play as compared with the other Euripidean dramas.

Number of Actors

The parts may be thus arranged: (1) Hector, Paris, Odysseus¹; (2) Aeneas, Rhesus, Athena; (3) Dolon, Shepherd, Diomedes, Charioteer, Muse. Thus, the supposition that four actors are needed is untenable.

The reader has now reached a point where he can appreciate the summary of the case against the *Rhesus*, which Rolfe supplies in the form of an answer to the question "Was Euripides the author of our play?"

"The answer is made easier by the fact that all those who now support that view admit that if Euripides wrote our play it was his earliest work. Even they acknowledge that there is a great difference between the *Rhesus* and the later plays of Euripides. On this point Hermann's remark though not conclusive is significant: 'Mutat profecto aliquid aetas, facitque saepe ut quis alius videatur vir factus quam adulescens fuit: at non mutantur omnia, sed est etiam quod sibi constet, manentque eiusdem ingeni vestigia.'

"But there are more tangible proofs that the play could not have been written so early. The list of words and expressions given by Wecklein, the fact that the action of the play demands four actors, and the evidence that the author of the *Rhesus* was acquainted with the later plays of Euripides, seem very strong arguments. That the play was not the work of Euripides, though perhaps not necessarily that it was later than his time, is shown by other evidence. First by the apparent lack of a prologue.... Next the arguments from the three cases cited in the examination of the syntax seem to be of some weight. And finally we can

¹ See note v. 626.

hardly believe that Aristophanes would have missed the opportunity of ridiculing a youthful effusion of Euripides."

This summary of the case against the *Rhesus* appeared in 1893. The one feature with which critics had no fault to find was the metrical and rhythmical composition. The proportion of resolved feet in the trimeters of the *Rhesus* is admitted to be such as was usual before the 89th Olympiad (B.C. 424). Division of verses between two speakers is found only in the tetrameter lines, 686-691, never in trimeters—a licence which occurs once in the *Alcestis*.

But now¹ Mr E. Harrison comes forward with a new test under which, it must be admitted, the play fares badly,—verse-weighing. We can only give the barest summary of his results. They are concerned with the ratio of iambs to spondees in the first, third and fifth feet of trimeters. He finds that while in all tragedies a preponderance of spondees over iambs is found in the first and third feet, this preponderance is greater in the *Rhesus* than in any other tragedy. In the fifth foot in all tragedies the iambus has the advantage over the spondee, and here the *Rhesus* is within the limits. This means that in the first half of the foot the *Rhesus* is heavier than any extant tragedy. Again, the proportion of dactyls to tribrachs in the third foot is greater in the *Rhesus* than in any other tragedy. Finally although in regard to *number* of resolved feet the *Rhesus* belongs to the earlier Euripidean group (before B.C. 424) yet it is at the top, not, as might be expected for a very early play, at the bottom of the list. The general conclusion is that the *Rhesus* is a play apart.

We have now examined the chief arguments advanced against the authenticity of the *Rhesus*. The assailants of the play agree that it is not Euripidean but differ as to its date and birth-place. Hermann and his followers suggest Alexandria and the third century B.C., but the dramatic quality of the play, the length and character of the choral odes, and the improbability that the Alexandrians should mistake a

¹ *Class. Quarterly*, July, 1914.

contemporary or almost contemporary drama for a lost work of Euripides have led to the abandonment of this position.

Wilamowitz is followed by many in dating the play circ. 370-60, after the second Athenian confederacy was established. In doing so he disregards, as we have seen, the testimony of Dicaearchus. Apart from this, so little is known of the tragic drama of the fourth century that it is hard to bring his theory to the proof. Aristotle in the *Poetics*¹ gives us two hints about contemporary drama. The choric passages were remarkable for their irrelevance to the action of the piece. Now there is no play extant where the choric passages are more strictly relevant than the *Rhesus*. Again Aristotle defines the *stasimon* as 'a choral song without anapaests or trochees.' Since this definition is not true of classical drama it can only be explained, as by Bywater, of the drama of Aristotle's own age. It is not true of the *Rhesus*, where anapaests occur in the third stasimon (vv. 538 ff.). Wilamowitz indeed maintains his position, only by regarding the play as a work of conscious imitation. This is so far from being obvious that Wecklein contrasts its 'economy' with that of the genuine Euripidean plays and makes the contrast an argument for its rejection.

The *Rhesus* is a peculiar play; peculiar in style, peculiar in subject-matter, peculiar in treatment, peculiar for the suspicions cast upon it in ancient times. It is possible that the peculiarities may be explained on the hypothesis somewhat tentatively put forward by Prof. Gilbert Murray, that it was a pro-satyrical drama, written by the youthful Euripides in imitation of Aeschylus, and revised by another hand for reproduction after the poet's death. All that has been attempted here is to maintain that the investigations of critics, while bringing into relief its various peculiarities, have failed to adduce any facts sufficient to warrant us in disregarding the testimony which assigns it to Euripides.

¹ *Poet.* 1456 a, and 1452 b (with Bywater's note).

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΡΗΣΟΣ

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

Ἐκτωρ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπικοιτῶν ἀκούσας αὐτοὺς πυρὰ καίειν, εὐλαβήθη μὴ φύγωσιν. ἐξοπλίζειν δὲ διεγνωκὼς τὰς δυνάμεις μετενόησεν Αἰνείου συμβουλευσάντος ἡσυχάζειν, κατάσκοπον δὲ πέμψαντα δι' ἐκείνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἱστορήσαι. Δόλωνα δὲ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ὑπακούσαντα ἐκπέμπεσθαι... τόπον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀφώρισεν αὐτῷ. ἐπιφανέντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, Δόλωνα μὲν ἀνηρηκότες, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ἑκτορος κατηντηκότες σκηνὴν πάλιν ὑπέστρεφον οὐχ εὐρόντες τὸν στρατηγόν. οὓς Ἀθηνᾶ κατέσχευεν ἐπιφανείσα καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἑκτορα ἐκέλευσε μὴ ζητεῖν, Ῥῆσον δὲ ἀναιρεῖν 10 ἐπέταξε· τὸν γὰρ ἐκ τούτου κίνδυνον ἔσσεσθαι μέζονα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἔαν βιώσῃ. τούτοις δὲ ἐπιφανεῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπίστασθαι (φησι) πολεμίων παρουσίαν. ἐξαπατηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς, ὥς δῆθεν ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης, ἄπρακτος ὑπέστρεψεν· οἱ δὲ περὶ Διομήδην φονεύσαντες Ῥῆσον ἐχωρίσθησαν. καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ τῶν ἀνηρημένων καθ' ὅλον ἦλθε τὸ στράτευμα. παραγενομένου δὲ Ἑκτορος, ἵνα αὐτὸς περιγίνηται τῶν πεπραγμένων, τετρωμένος ὁ τοῦ Ῥήσου ἐπιμελητῆς δι' αὐτοῦ φησιν Ἑκτορος τὸν φόνον γεγενῆσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Ἑκτορος ἀπολογουμένου τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐμήνυσεν ἡ τοῦ 20 Ῥήσου μήτηρ ἡ Μοῦσα νεκρὸν κομίζουσα τὸ σῶμα. κατοδυρομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπιπλακέντα αὐτῇ Στρυμόνα διὰ τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς πένθος καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγενημένον Ῥῆσον,

13 φησι is inserted by Wilamowitz. πολεμίων Nauck: πολέμου V Harl. 19 φησιν Kirchhoff: φασιν Harl., V omits.

οὐδ' Ἀχιλλεῖ φησιν ἀδάκρυτον ἔσθαι, τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν θανάτῳ τὴν ἰδίαν παραμυθουμένη λύπην.

τοῦτο τὸ δρᾶμα ἔνιοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν, Εὐριπίδου δὲ μὴ εἶναι· τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνει χαρακτηῖρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ὡς γνήσιον ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πολυπραγμοσύνη τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὁμολογεῖ.

30

πρόλογοι δὲ διττοὶ φέρονται. ὁ γοῦν Δικαίάρχος ἐκτιθεὶς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ Ῥήσου γράφει κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως·

νῦν εὐσέληνον φέγγος ἡ διφρήλατος.

καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἕτερός τις φέρεται πρόλογος, πεζὸς πάνυ καὶ οὐ πρέπων Εὐριπίδῃ· καὶ τάχα ἄν τινες τῶν ὑποκριτῶν διεσκευακότες εἶεν αὐτόν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως·

ὦ τοῦ μεγίστου Ζηνὸς ἄλκιμον τέκος
Παλλὰς, παρῶμεν· οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἡμᾶς ἔτι
μέλλειν Ἀχαιῶν ὠφελεῖν στρατεύματα.
νῦν γὰρ κακῶς πράσσουσιν ἐν μάχῃ δορός,
λόγχῃ βιαίως Ἐκτορος στροβούμενοι.
ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἄλγιον βάρος,
ἐξ οὗ γ' ἔκρινε Κύπριν Ἀλέξανδρος θεὰν
κάλλει προήκειν τῆς ἐμῆς εὐμορφίας
καὶ σῆς, Ἀθάνα, φιλτάτης ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
εἴ μὴ κατασκαφεῖσαν ὄψομαι πόλιν
Πριάμου βίᾳ πρόρριζον ἐκτετριμμένην.

40

26 Εὐριπίδου δὲ μὴ εἶναι V Haun. ὡς οὐκ ὄν Εὐριπίδου LP Harl. 27 Perhaps ὑποφαίνειν should be read with Valckenaer.

31 Δικαίάρχος Nauck: δικαίαν MSS. except Harl. which omits.

41 μάχῃ Valckenaer: μακρῇ V Harl.: μακρῶ Haun.: μακῇ LP.

42 βιαίως Hermann: βία V Haun.: βιαίως LP Harl. 45 προ-

ήκειν Valckenaer: προσήκειν MSS. 46 Ἀθάνα Valckenaer: Ἀθηνᾶ

MSS. φιλτάτης Valckenaer: φίλατ' LP Harl. Haun.: φίλατ' V.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

Ῥῆσος παῖς μὲν ἦν Στρυμόνος τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Τερψι-
 χόρης, Μουσῶν μιᾶς, Θρακῶν δὲ ἡγούμενος εἰς Ἴλιον παρα-
 γίνεται νυκτός, στρατοπεδευομένων τῶν Τρώων παρὰ ταῖς
 ναῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τοῦτον Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Διομήδης
 κατάσκοποι ὄντες ἀναιροῦσιν, Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτοῖς ὑποθεμένης·
 μέγαν γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κίνδυνον ἐκ τούτου. Τερψι-
 χόρη δὲ ἐπιφανεῖσα τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς σῶμα ἀνείλετο, ὥς ἐν
 παρόδῳ δὲ διαλαμβάνει καὶ περὶ τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Δόλωνος.

ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ἐν Τροίᾳ. ὁ χορὸς συνέστηκεν
 ἐκ φυλάκων Τρωικῶν, οἳ καὶ προλογίζουσι. περιέχει δὲ τὴν
 Νυκτεγερσίαν.

3 στρατοπεδευομένων Wecklein : στρατενομένων MSS.

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΦΥΛΑΚΩΝ.

ΕΚΤΩΡ.

ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ.

ΔΟΛΩΝ.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΝ.

ΡΗΣΟΣ.

ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ.

ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ.

ΑΘΗΝΑ.

ΠΑΡΙΣ.

ΡΗΣΟΥ ΗΝΙΟΧΟΣ.

ΜΟΥΣΑ.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΡΗΣΟΣ

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

Βᾶθι πρὸς εὐνὰς τὰς Ἑκτορέους.
 τίς ὑπασπιστῶν ἄγρυπνος βασιλέως,
 ἢ τευχοφόρων;
 δέξαιτο νέων κληδόνα μύθων,
 οὐ τετράμοιρον νυκτὸς φυλακὴν 5
 πάσης στρατιᾶς προκάθηνται.
 ὄρθου κεφαλὴν πῆχυν ἐρείσας,
 λῦσον βλεφάρων γοργωπὸν ἔδραν,
 λείπε χαμεύνας φυλλοστρώτους,
 Ἑκτορ· καιρὸς γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι. 10

ΕΚΤΩΡ.

τίς ὄδ'; ἢ φίλιος φθόγγος· τίς ἀνὴρ;
 τί τὸ σῆμα; θρόει·
 τίνες ἐκ νυκτῶν τὰς ἡμετέρας
 κοίτας πλάθουσ'; ἐνέπειν χρή.
 ΧΟ. φύλακες στρατιᾶς. ΕΚ. τί φέρῃ θορύβῳ; 15
 ΧΟ. θάρσει. ΕΚ. θαρσῶ.
 μῶν τις λόχος ἐκ νυκτῶν; [ΧΟ. οὐκέτι. ΕΚ.]
 τί σὺ γὰρ

11 ἢ V : ἢ O.

φυλακὰς προλιπὼν κινεῖς στρατιάν,
 εἰ μή τιν' ἔχων νυκτηγορίαν;
 οὐκ οἶσθα δορὸς πέλας Ἀργείου 20
 νυχίαν ἡμᾶς
 κοίταν πανόπλους κατέχοντας;

ΧΟ. ὀπλίζου χέρα· συμμάχων, stroph.
 Ἐκτορ, βᾶθι πρὸς εὐνάς,
 ὄτρυνον ἔγχος αἰείρειν, ἀφύπνισον. 25
 πέμπε φίλους ἰέναι ποτὶ σὸν λόχον,
 ἀρμόσατε ψαλίοις ἵππους.
 τίς εἶσ' ἐπὶ Πανθοῖδαν,
 ἧ τὸν Εὐρώπας, Λυκίων ἀγὸν ἀνδρῶν;
 ποῦ σφαγίων ἔφοροι; 30
 ποῦ δὲ γυμνήτων μόναρχοι;
 τοξοφόροι τε Φρυγῶν
 ζεύγνυτε κερόδετα τόξα νευραῖς.

ΕΚ. τὰ μὲν ἀγγέλλεις δείματ' ἀκούειν,
 τὰ δὲ θαρσύνεις, κούδὲν καθαρῶς· 35
 ἀλλ' ἧ Κρονίου Πανὸς τρομερᾷ
 μάστιγι φοβῇ, φυλακὰς δὲ λιπὼν
 κινεῖς στρατιάν; τί θροεῖς; τί σε φῶ
 νέον ἀγγέλλειν; πολλὰ γὰρ εἰπὼν
 οὐδὲν τρανῶς ἀπέδειξας. 40

ΧΟ. πύρ' αἴθει στρατὸς Ἀργόλας, antistr.
 Ἐκτορ, πᾶσαν ἀν' ὄρφναν,
 διειπετῇ δὲ ναῶν πυρσοῖς σταθμά.
 πᾶς δ' Ἀγαμεμνονίαν προσέβα στρατὸς
 ἐννύχιος θορύβῳ σκηνάν, 45

νέαν τιν' ἐφιέμενοι
 βάξιν. οὐ γάρ πω πάρος ὦδ' ἐφοβήθη
 ναυσιπόρος στρατιά.
 σοὶ δ', ὑποπτεύων τὸ μέλλον,
 ἤλυθον ἄγγελος, ὥς
 μήποτε τιν' ἐς ἐμὲ μέμψιν εἴπῃς. 50

ΕΚ. ἐς καιρὸν ἤκεις, καίπερ ἀγγέλλων φόβον·
 ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐκ γῆς τῇσδε νυκτέρῳ πλάτῃ
 λαθόντες ὄμμα τοῦμὸν ἀρεῖσθαι φυγὴν
 μέλλουσι· σαίνει μ' ἔννυχος φρυκτωρία. 55
 ὦ δαῖμον, ὅστις μ' εὐτυχοῦντ' ἐνόσφισας
 θοίνης λέοντα, πρὶν τὸν Ἀργείων στρατὸν
 σύρδην ἅπαντα τῷδ' ἀναλῶσαι δορί.
 εἰ γὰρ φαεννοὶ μὴ ξυνέσχον ἡλίου
 λαμπτήρες, οὐτὰν ἔσχον εὐτυχοῦν δόρυ, 60
 πρὶν ναῦς πυρῶσαι καὶ διὰ σκηνῶν μολεῖν
 κτείνων Ἀχαιοὺς τῇδε πολυφόνῳ χερί.
 κἀγὼ μὲν ἦ πρόθυμος ἰέναι δόρυ
 ἐν νυκτὶ χρῆσθαι τ' εὐτυχεῖ ρύμη θεοῦ·
 ἀλλ' οἱ σοφοί με καὶ τὸ θεῖον εἰδότες 65
 μάντεις ἔπεισαν ἡμέρας μεῖναι φάος
 κἄπειτ' Ἀχαιῶν μηδέν' ἐν χέρσῳ λιπεῖν.
 οἱ δ' οὐ μένουσι τῶν ἐμῶν θυοσκοῶν
 βουλάς· ἐν ὄρφνῃ δραπέτης μέγα σθένει.
 ἀλλ' ὥς τάχιστα χρή παραγγέλλειν στρατῷ 70
 τεύχη πρόχειρα λαμβάνειν λῆξαί θ' ὕπνου,
 ὥς ἄν τις αὐτῶν καὶ νεὼς θρώσκων ἐπι

51 μήποτε τινα μέμψιν εἰς ἐμ' εἴπῃς. 53 ἄνδρες. 54 αἰρεῖσ-
 θαι Pan, αἰρεσθαι or αἵρεσθαι remaining MSS.: φυγῇ.

νῶτον χαραχθεὶς κλίμακας ῥάνη φόνῳ,
οἷ δ' ἐν βρόχοισι δέσμιοι λελημμένοι
Φρυγῶν ἀρούρας ἐκμάθωσι γαπονεῖν. 75

ΧΟ. Ἐκτορ, ταχύνεις πρὶν μαθεῖν τὸ δρώμενον·
ἄνδρες γὰρ εἰ φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἴσμεν τορῶς.

ΕΚ. τίς γὰρ πύρ' αἴθειν πρόφασις Ἀργείων στρατόν;

ΧΟ. οὐκ οἶδ'· ὕποπτον δ' ἐστὶ κάρτ' ἐμῇ φρενί.

ΕΚ. πάντ' ἂν φοβηθεὶς ἴσθι, δειμαίνων τόδε. 80

ΧΟ. οὐπω πρὶν ἦψαν πολέμιοι τοσόνδε φῶς.

ΕΚ. οὐδ' ὧδέ γ' αἰσchrῶς ἔπεσον ἐν τροπῇ δορός.

ΧΟ. σὺ ταῦτ' ἔπραξας· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ νῦν σκόπει.

ΕΚ. ἀπλοῦς ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς μῦθος ὀπλίζειν χέρα.

ΧΟ. καὶ μὴν ὅδ' Αἰνέας καὶ μάλα σπουδῇ ποδὸς 85
στείχει, νέον τι πρᾶγμ' ἔχων φίλοις φράσαι.

ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ.

Ἐκτορ, τί χρῆμα νύκτεροι κατὰ στρατὸν
τὰς σὰς πρὸς εὐνὰς φύλακες ἐλθόντες φόβῳ
νυκτηγοροῦσι καὶ κεκίνηται στρατός;

ΕΚ. Αἰνέα, πύκαζε τεύχεσιν δέμας σέθεν. 90

ΑΙ. τί δ' ἔστι; μῶν τις πολεμίων ἀγγέλλεται
δόλος κρυφαῖος ἐστάναι κατ' εὐφρόνην;

ΕΚ. φεύγουσιν ἄνδρες κάπιβαίνουσιν νεῶν.

ΑΙ. τί τοῦδ' ἂν εἴποις ἀσφαλὲς τεκμήριον;

ΕΚ. αἴθουσι πᾶσαν νύκτα λαμπάδας πυρός· 95
καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ μενεῖν ἐς αὔριον,
ἀλλ' ἐκκέαντες πύρσ', ἐπ' εὐσέλμων νεῶν
φυγῇ πρὸς οἴκους τῇσδ' ἀφορμήσειν χθονός.

- ΑΙ. σὺ δ' ὥς τί δράσων πρὸς τὰδ' ὀπλίξῃ χέρας;
 ΕΚ. φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς κἀπιθρώσκοντας νεῶν 100
 λόγῃ καθέξω κἀπικείσομαι βαρύς·
 αἰσχροὺν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς αἰσχύνῃ κακόν,
 θεοῦ διδόντος πολεμίους, ἄνευ μάχης
 φεύγειν ἐᾶσαι πολλὰ δράσαντας κακά.
- ΑΙ. εἴθ' ἦσθ' ἀνὴρ εὖβουλος ὥς δράσας χερί. 105
 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι βροτῶν
 πέφυκεν· ἄλλω δ' ἄλλο πρόσκειται γέρας,
 σὲ μὲν μάχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ βουλεύειν καλῶς.
 ὅστις πυρὸς λαμπτήρας ἐξήρθης κλύων
 φλέγειν Ἀχαιοὺς, καὶ στρατὸν μέλλεις ἄγειν 110
 τάφρους ὑπερβὰς νυκτὸς ἐν καταστάσει.
 καίτοι περάσας κοῖλον αὐλώνων βάθος,
 εἰ μὴ κυρήσεις πολεμίους ἀπὸ χθονὸς
 φεύγοντας, ἀλλὰ σὸν βλέποντας ἐς δόρυ,
 νικώμενος μὲν τήνδε μὴ οὐ μόλῃς πόλιν· 115
 πῶς γὰρ περάσει σκόλοπας ἐν τροπῇ στρατός;
 πῶς δ' αὖ γεφύρας διαβαλοῦς' ἱππηλάται,
 ἦν ἄρα μὴ θραύσαντες ἀντύγων χυόας;
 νικῶν δ' ἔφεδρον παῖδ' ἔχεις τὸν Πηλέως,
 ὅς σ' οὐκ ἐάσει ναυσὶν ἐμβαλεῖν φλόγα, 120
 οὐδ' ὧδ' Ἀχαιοὺς, ὥς δοκεῖς, ἀναρπάσαι.
 αἶθων γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ πεπύργωται χερί.
 ἀλλὰ στρατὸν μὲν ἥσυχον παρ' ἀσπίδας
 εὔδειν ἐῶμεν ἐκ κόπων ἀρειφάτων,

105 δράσαι. 110 φεύγειν. 112-151 For these lines V is wanting. The consensus of Haun. and Palatinus inter Vat. 98=(V).
 115 τήνδ' οὐ μὴ μόλῃς πόλιν LP: τήνδε μὴ μόλῃς πόλιν (V).
 118 ἄρα. 122 ἀνὴρ.

κατάσκοπον δὲ πολεμίων, ὃς ἂν θέλῃ, 125
πέμπειν δοκεῖ μοι· κἂν μὲν αἴρωνται φυγὴν,
στείχοντες ἐμπέσωμεν Ἀργείων στρατῷ·
εἰ δ' ἐς δόλον τιν' ἢ δ' ἄγει φρυκτωρία,
μαθόντες ἐχθρῶν μηχανὰς κατασκόπου
βουλευσόμεσθα· τήνδ' ἔχω γνώμην, ἄναξ. 130

- ΧΟ. τάδε δοκεῖ, τάδε μεταθέμενος νόει. stroph.
σφαλερὰ δ' οὐ φιλῶ στρατηγῶν κράτη.
τί γὰρ ἄμεινον ἢ
ταχυβάταν νεῶν κατόπταν μολεῖν
πέλας ὃ τί ποτ' ἄρα δαίοις 135
πυρὰ κατ' ἀντίπρωρα ναυστάθμων δαίεται;
ΕΚ. νικᾷτ', ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ἀνδάνει τάδε.
στείχων δὲ κοίμα συμμάχους· τάχ' ἂν στρατὸς
κινοῖτ' ἀκούσας νυκτέρους ἐκκλησίας.
ἐγὼ δὲ πέμψω πολεμίων κατάσκοπον. 140
κἂν μὲν τιν' ἐχθρῶν μηχανὴν πυθώμεθα,
σὺ πάντ' ἀκούσῃ καὶ παρὼν εἴσῃ λόγον·
ἐὰν δ' ἀπάρωσ' ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμώμενοι,
σάλπιγγος αὐδὴν προσδοκῶν караδόκει,
ὥς οὐ μενοῦντά μ'. ἀλλὰ προσμείξω νεῶν 145
ὀλκοῖσι νυκτὸς τῇσδ' ἐπ' Ἀργείων στρατῷ.
ΑΙ. πέμφ' ὥς τάχιστα· νῦν γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς φρονεῖς.
σὺν σοὶ δ' ἔμ' ὄψει καρτεροῦνθ', ὅταν δέῃ.
ΕΚ. τίς δῆτα Τρώων οὐ πάρεισιν ἐν λόγῳ
θέλει κατόπτης ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν; 150
τίς ἂν γένοιτο τῇσδε γῆς εὐεργέτης;

τίς φησιν; οὔτοι πάντ' ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι
πόλει πατρώᾳ συμμάχοις θ' ὑπηρετεῖν.

ΔΟΛΩΝ.

ἐγὼ πρὸ γαίας τόνδε κίνδυνον θέλω
ρίψας κατόπτῃς ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν, 155
καὶ πάντ' Ἀχαιῶν ἐκμαθὼν βουλευμάτα
ἥξω· πὶ τούτοις τόνδ' ὑφίσταμαι πόνον.

ΕΚ. ἐπώνυμος μὲν κάρτα καὶ φιλόπτολις
Δόλων· πατρὸς δὲ καὶ πρὶν εὐκλεᾶ δόμον
νῦν δις τόσως ἔθηκας εὐκλεέστερον. 160

ΔΟ. οὐκοῦν πονεῖν μὲν χρή, πονοῦντα δ' ἄξιον
μισθὸν φέρεσθαι. παντὶ γὰρ προσκείμενον
κέρδος πρὸς ἔργῳ τὴν χάριν τίκτει διπλὴν.

ΕΚ. ναί, καὶ δίκαια ταῦτα κοῦκ ἄλλως λέγω.
τάξαι δὲ μισθὸν πλὴν ἐμῆς τυραννίδος. 165

ΔΟ. οὐ σῆς ἐρῶμεν πολιοῦχου τυραννίδος.

ΕΚ. σὺ δ' ἄλλὰ γήμας Πριαμιδῶν γαμβρὸς γενοῦ.

ΔΟ. οὐδ' ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ μειζόνων γαμῆν θέλω.

ΕΚ. χρυσὸς πάρεστιν, εἰ τόδ' αἰτήσῃ γέρας.

ΔΟ. ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἐν οἴκοις· οὐ βίου σπανίζομεν. 170

ΕΚ. τί δῆτα χρήξεις ὧν κέκευθεν Ἴλιος;

ΔΟ. ἐλὼν Ἀχαιοὺς δῶρά μοι ξυναίνεσον.

ΕΚ. δώσω· σὺ δ' αἶτει πλὴν στρατηλάτας νεῶν.

ΔΟ. κτεῖν', οὐ σ' ἀπαιτῶ Μενέλεω σχέσθαι χέρα.

ΕΚ. οὐ μὴν τὸν Ἰλέως παῖδά μ' ἐξαιτῇ λαβεῖν; 175

ΔΟ. κακαὶ γεωργεῖν χεῖρες εὖ τεθραμμέναι.

ΕΚ. τίν' οὖν Ἀχαιῶν ζῶντ' ἀποινᾶσθαι θέλεις;

ΔΟ. καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπον· ἔστι χρυσὸς ἐν δόμοις.

- ΕΚ. καὶ μὴν λαφύρων γ' αὐτὸς αἵρήσῃ παρών.
 ΔΟ. θεοῖσιν αὐτὰ πασσάλευε πρὸς δόμους. 180
- ΕΚ. τί δῆτα μείζον τῶνδ' ἐμ' αἰτήσῃ γέρας;
 ΔΟ. ἵππους Ἀχιλλέως· χρὴ δ' ἐπ' ἀξίοις πονεῖν
 ψυχὴν προβάλλοντ' ἐν κύβοισι δαίμονος.
- ΕΚ. καὶ μὴν ἐρώντί γ' ἀντερᾶς ἵππων ἐμοί·
 ἐξ ἀφθίτων γὰρ ἄφθιτοι πεφυκότες 185
 τὸν Πηλέως φέρουσι θούριον γόνον·
 δίδωσι δ' αὐτοὺς πωλοδαμνήσας ἄναξ
 Πηλεῖ Ποσειδῶν, ὥς λέγουσι, πόντιος.
 ἀλλ' οὐ σ' ἐπάρας ψεύσομαι· δώσω δέ σοι
 κάλλιστον οἴκοις κτῆμ' Ἀχιλλέως ὄχον. 190
- ΔΟ. αἰνῶ· λαβὼν δ' ἄν φημι κάλλιστον Φρυγῶν
 δῶρον δέχεσθαι τῆς ἐμῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας.
 σὲ δ' οὐ φθονεῖν χρή· μυρὶ ἔστιν ἄλλα σοι,
 ἐφ' οἷσι τέρψῃ τῇσδ' ἀριστεύων χθονός.
- ΧΟ. μέγας ἀγών, μεγάλη δ' ἐπινοεῖς ἐλεῖν· antistr. 195
 μακάριός γε μὴν κυρήσας ἔσῃ.
 πόνος ὃδ' εὐκλεής·
 μέγα δὲ κοιράνοισι γαμβρὸν πέλειν.
 τὰ θεόθεν ἐπιδέτω Δίκη,
 τὰ δὲ παρ' ἀνδράσιν τέλειά σοι φαίνεται. 200
- ΔΟ. στείχοιμ' ἄν· ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς δόμους ἐφέστιος
 σκευῇ πρεπόντως σῶμ' ἐμὸν καθάψομαι,
 κακείθεν ἦσω ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων πόδα.
- ΧΟ. ἐπεὶ τίν' ἄλλην ἀντὶ τῇσδ' ἔξεις στολὴν;
 ΔΟ. πρέπουσαν ἔργῳ κλωπικοῖς τε βήμασι. 205

- ΧΟ. σοφοῦ παρ' ἀνδρὸς χρὴ σοφόν τι μανθάνειν·
λέξον, τίς ἔσται τοῦδε σώματος σαγή;
- ΔΟ. λύκειον ἀμφὶ νῶτον ἄψομαι δορὰν
καὶ χάσμα θηρὸς ἀμφ' ἐμῷ θήσω κάρα,
βάσιν τε χερσὶ προσθίαν καθαρμόσας 210
καὶ κῶλα κῶλοις, τετράπουν μιμήσομαι
λύκου κέλευθον πολεμίους δυσεύρετον,
τάφροις πελάζων καὶ νεῶν προβλήμασιν.
ὅταν δ' ἔρημον χῶρον ἐμβαίνω ποδί,
δίβαμος εἶμι· τῇδε σύγκειται δόλος. 215
- ΧΟ. ἀλλ' εὖ σ' ὁ Μαίας παῖς ἐκείσε καὶ πάλιν
πέμψειεν Ἑρμῆς, ὅς γε φηλητῶν ἄναξ.
ἔχεις δὲ τοῦργον· εὐτυχεῖν μόνον σε δεῖ.
- ΔΟ. σωθήσομαί τε καὶ κτανὼν Ὀδυσσέως
οἴσω κάρα σοι, σύμβολον δ' ἔχων σαφὲς 220
φήσεις Δόλωνα ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν,—
ἧ παῖδα Τυδέως· οὐδ' ἀναιμάκτῳ χερὶ
ἦξω πρὸς οἴκους πρὶν φάος μολεῖν χθόνα.
- ΧΟ. Θυμβραῖε καὶ Δάλιε καὶ Λυκίας stroph.
ναὸν ἐμβατεύων 225
Ἄπολλον, ᾧ δία κεφαλά, μόλε τοξήρης, ἰκοῦ
ἐννύχιος
καὶ γενοῦ σωτήριος ἀνέρι πομπᾶς
ἀγεμὼν καὶ ξύλλαβε Δαρδανίδαῖς, 230
ᾧ παγκρατές, ᾧ Τροίης
τείχη παλαιὰ δείμας.
μόλοι δὲ ναυκλήρια, καὶ στρατιᾶς antistr.
Ἑλλάδος διόπτας

ἵκοιτο, καὶ κάμψειε πάλιν θυμέλας οἴκων πατρὸς
Ἰλιάδας. 235

Φθιάδων δ' ἵππων ποτ' ἐπ' ἄντυγι βαίη
δεσπότου πέρσαντος Ἀχαιοὺν Ἄρη,
τὰς πόντιος Αἰακίδα 240
Πηλεῖ δίδωσι δαίμων.

ἐπεὶ πρό τ' οἴκων πρό τε γᾶς ἔτλα μόνος stroph.
ναύσταθμα βᾶς κατιδεῖν· ἄγαμαι
λήματος· ἧ σπανία 245
τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅταν ἧ
δυσάλιον ἐν πελάγει,
καὶ σαλεύῃ πόλιν. ἔστι Φρυγῶν τις
ἔστιν ἄλκιμος, ἐνὶ δὲ θράσος 250
ἐν αἰχμᾷ· πόθι Μυσῶν ὃς ἐμὰν
συμμαχίαν ἀτίζει;
τίν' ἄνδρ' Ἀχαιῶν ὁ πεδοστιβῆς σφαγεὺς anti.
οὐτάσει ἐν κλισίαις, τετράπουν 255
μῖμον ἔχων ἐπὶ γᾶν
θηρός; ἔλοι Μενέλαν,
κτανὼν δ' Ἀγαμεμνόνιον
κρᾶτ' ἐνέγκοι Ἑλένα κακόγαμβρον 260
ἐς χέρας γόον, ὃς ἐπὶ πόλιν,
ὃς ἐπὶ γᾶν Τροίαν χιλιόναυν
ἦλυθ' ἔχων στρατείαν.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

ἄναξ, τοιούτων δεσπότησιν ἄγγελος
εἶην τὸ λοιπὸν οἶά σοι φέρω μαθεῖν. 265

252 ποτὶ.
263 στρατιάν.

256 ἐπὶ γαίᾱς LP: ἐπὶ γαίᾳ O: ἐπὶ γαῖαν V.

ΕΚ. ἦ πόλλ' ἀγρώταις σκαιὰ πρόσκειται φρενί·
καὶ γὰρ σὺ ποιμένας δεσπόταις τευχεςφόροις
ἦκειν ἔοικας ἀγγελῶν ἔν' οὐ πρόπει.
οὐκ οἶσθα δῶμα τοῦμόν ἢ θρόνους πατρός,
οἷ χρῆν γεγωνεῖν σ' εὐτυχοῦντα ποιμνία; 270

ΑΓΓ. σκαιοὶ βοτῆρές ἐσμεν· οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω.
ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἡσρόν σοι φέρω κεδνοὺς λόγους.

ΕΚ. παῦσαι λέγων μοι τὰς προσαυλείους τύχας·
μάχας πρὸ χειρῶν καὶ δόρη βαστάζομεν.

ΑΓΓ. τοιαῦτα καὶ γὰρ σημανῶν ἐλήλυθα· 275
ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἀλκῆς μυρίας στρατηλατῶν
στείχει φίλος σοὶ σύμμαχός τε τῇδε γῇ.

ΕΚ. ποίας πατρώας γῆς ἐρημώσας πέδον;

ΑΓΓ. Θρήκης· πατὴρ δὲ Στρυμόνος κικλήσκεται.

ΕΚ. Ῥῆσον τιθέντ' ἔλεξας ἐν Τροίᾳ πόδα. 280

ΑΓΓ. ἔγνωσ· λόγου δὲ δις τόσου μ' ἐκούφισας.

ΕΚ. καὶ πῶς πρὸς Ἰδης ὀργάδας πορεύεται,
πλαγχθεὶς πλατείας πεδιάδος θ' ἀμαξιτοῦ;

ΑΓΓ. οὐκ οἶδ' ἀκριβῶς· εἰκάσαι γε μὴν πάρα.
ὄρφνη γὰρ οὔτι φαῦλον ἐμβαλεῖν στρατόν, 285
κλύοντα πλήρη πεδία πολεμίας χερός.
φόβον δ' ἀγρώσταις, οἱ κατ' Ἰδαῖον λέπας
οἰκκῶμεν αὐτόρριζον ἐστίαν χθονός,
παρέσχε δρυμόν νυκτὸς ἔνθηρον μολών.
πολλῇ γὰρ ἡχῇ Θρήκιος ῥέων στρατὸς 290
ἔστειχε· θάμβει δ' ἐκπλαγέντες ἴμεν
ποιμνας πρὸς ἄκρας, μή τις Ἀργείων μόλη
λεηλατήσων καὶ σὰ πορθήσων σταθμά,

πρὶν δὴ δι' ὧτων γῆρυν οὐχ Ἑλληνικὴν
 ἐδεξάμεσθα καὶ μετέστημεν φόβου. 295
 στείχων δ' ἄνακτος προυξερευνητὰς ὁδοῦ
 ἀνιστόρησα Θρηκίοις προσφθέγμασι,
 τίς ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τίνος κεκλημένος
 στείχει πρὸς ἄστυ Πριαμίδαισι σύμμαχος.
 καὶ πάντ' ἀκούσας ὧν ἐφίεμν μαθεῖν, 300
 ἔστην· ὁρῶ δὲ Ῥῆσον ὥστε δαίμονα
 ἐστῶτ' ἐν ἵπποις Θρηκίοις τ' ὀχήμασι.
 χρυσῇ δὲ πλάστιγξ αὐχένα ζυγηφόρου
 πώλων ἔκλῃε χιόνος ἐξαυγεστέρων.
 πέλτη δ' ἐπ' ὦμων χρυσοκολλήτοις τύποις 305
 ἔλαμπε· Γοργῶν δ' ὥς ἐπ' αἰγίδος θεᾶς
 χαλκῇ μετώποις ἵππικοῖσι πρόσδετος
 πολλοῖσι σὺν κώδωσιν ἐκτύπει φόβον.
 στρατοῦ δὲ πλήθος οὐδ' ἂν ἐν ψήφου λόγῳ
 θέσθαι δύναί ᾖ, ὥς ἄπλατον ἦν ἰδεῖν, 310
 πολλοὶ μὲν ἱππῆς, πολλὰ πελταστῶν τέλη,
 πολλοὶ δ' ἀτράκτων τοξόται, πολὺς δ' ὄχλος
 γυμνῆς ὁμαρτῇ, Θρηκίαν ἔχων στολὴν.
 τοιόσδε Τροία σύμμαχος πάρεστ' ἀνὴρ,
 ὃν οὔτε φεύγων οὔθ' ὑποσταθεὶς δορὶ 315
 ὁ Πηλέως παῖς ἐκφυγεῖν δυνήσεται.

ΧΟ. ὅταν πολίταις εὐσταθῶσι δαίμονες,
 ἔρπει κατάντης ξυμφορὰ πρὸς τὰγαθά.

ΕΚ. πολλούς, ἐπειδὴ τοῦμὸν εὐτυχεῖ δόρυ
 καὶ Ζεὺς πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν, εὐρήσω φίλους. 320
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεόμεθ', οἵτινες πάλαι
 μὴ ξυμπονοῦσιν, ἡνίκ' ἐξώστης Ἄρης

- ἔθραυε λαίφη τῇσδε γῆς μέγας πνέων.
 'Ρῆσος δ' ἔδειξεν οἶος ἦν Τροία φίλος·
 ἥκει γὰρ ἐς δαῖτ', οὐ παρὼν κυνηγέταις 325
 αἰρούσι λείαν οὐδὲ συγκαμὼν δορί.
- ΧΟ. ὀρθῶς ἀτίξεις κἀπίμομφος εἰ φίλοις·
 δέχου δὲ τοὺς θέλοντας ὠφελεῖν πόλιν.
- ΕΚ. ἀρκοῦμεν οἱ σῶζοντες Ἴλιον πάλοι.
- ΧΟ. πέποιθας ἤδη πολεμίους ῥηρέκηναι; 330
- ΕΚ. πέποιθα· δείξει τοῦπιόν σέλας θεοῦ.
- ΧΟ. ὄρα τὸ μέλλον· πόλλ' ἀναστρέφει θεός.
- ΕΚ. μισῶ φίλοισιν ὕστερον βοηδρομεῖν. 333
 ὃ δ' οὖν, ἐπέιπερ ἦλθε, σύμμαχος μὲν οὐ 336
 ξένος δέ, πρὸς τράπεζαν ἡκέτω ξένων·
 χάρις γὰρ αὐτῷ Πριαμιδῶν διώλετο. 338
- ΧΟ. ἄναξ, ἀπωθεῖν συμμάχους ἐπίφθονον. 334
- ΑΓΓ. φόβος γένοιτ' ἂν πολεμίοις ὀφθεῖς μόνον. 335
- ΕΚ. σύ τ' εὖ παραινεῖς καὶ σὺ καιρίως σκοπεῖς. 339
 ὁ χρυσοτευχῆς δ' οὔνεκ' ἀγγέλου λόγων 340
 'Ρῆσος παρέστω τῇδε σύμμαχος χθονί.
- ΧΟ. Ἀδράστεια μὲν ἅ Διὸς 345
 παῖς εἵργοι στομάτων φθόνον·
 φράσω γὰρ δὴ ὅσον μοι
 ψυχᾷ προσφιλές ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν.
 ἥκεις, ὦ ποταμοῦ παῖ,
 ἥκεις, ἐπλάθης Φιλίου πρὸς αὐλὰν
 ἀσπαστός, ἐπεὶ σε χρόνῳ

334-338 are assigned to the messenger, 339-341 to the chorus in V and O : in L and P 334-338 to the chorus, 339-341 to Hector. 336 ὃδ'.

Πιερίς μάτηρ ὃ τε καλλιγέφυ-
ρος ποταμὸς πορεύει 350

Στρυμών, ὅς ποτε τᾶς μελω- antistr.
δοῦ Μούσας δι' ἀκηράτων
δινηθεὶς ὑδροειδῆς
κόλπων σὰν ἐφύτευσεν ἦβαν.
σύ μοι Ζεὺς ὁ φαναῖος 355
ἥκεις διφρεύων βαλιαῖσι πώλοισ.
νῦν, ὦ πατρίς ὦ Φρυγία,
ξὺν θεῷ νῦν σοι τὸν ἐλευθέριον
Ζῆνα πάρεστιν εἰπεῖν.

ἄρά ποτ' αὖθις ἡ παλαιὰ Τροία stroph. 360
τοὺς προπότας παναμερεύ-
σει θιάσους ἐρώτων
ψαλμοῖσι καὶ κυλίκων οἶνοπλανή-
τοις ὑποδεξίαις ἀμίλ-
λαις κατὰ πόντον Ἀτρειδᾶν 365
Σπάρταν οἰχομένων Ἰλιάδος παρ' ἀκτᾶς;
ὦ φίλος, εἶθε μοι
σᾶ χερὶ καὶ σῷ δορὶ πρά-
ξας τάδ' ἐς οἶκον ἔλθοις.

ἐλθέ, φάνηθι, τὰν ζάχρυσον προβαλοῦ ant. 370
Πηλεΐδα κατ' ὄμμα πέλ-
ταν δοχμίαν πεδαίρων
σχιστὰν παρ' ἄντυγα, πώλους ἐρεθί-
ζων δίβολόν τ' ἄκοντα πάλ-
λων. σέ γάρ οὔτις ὑποστὰς 375

Ἄργείας ποτ' ἐν Ἥρας δαπέδοις χορεύσει·
 ἀλλὰ νιν ἄδε γὰ
 καπφθίμενον Θρηκὶ μόρῳ
 φίλτατον ἄχθος οἴσει.

ἰὼ ἰώ.

μέγας ὦ βασιλεῦ, καλόν, ὦ Θρήκη, 380
 σκύμνον ἔθρεψας πολίαρχον ἰδεῖν.
 ἴδε χρυσόδετον σώματος ἀλκὴν,
 κλύε καὶ κόμπους κωδωνοκρότους
 παρὰ πορπάκων κελαδοῦντας.
 θεός, ὦ Τροία, θεὸς αὐτὸς Ἄρης 385
 ὁ Στρυμόνιος πῶλος ἀοιδοῦ
 Μούσης ἥκων καταπλεῖ σε.

ΡΗΣΟΣ.

χαῖρ', ἐσθλὸς ἐσθλοῦ παῖ, τύραννε τῇσδε γῆς,
 Ἔκτορ· παλαιᾷ σ' ἡμέρα προσεννέπω.
 χαίρω δέ σ' εὐτυχοῦντα καὶ προσήμενον 390
 πύργοισιν ἐχθρῶν· συγκατασκάψων δ' ἐγὼ
 τείχη πάρειμι καὶ νεῶν πρήσων σκάφη.

ΕΚ. παῖ τῆς μελῳδοῦ μητέρος Μουσῶν μιᾷς
 Θρηκὸς τε ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, φιλῶ λέγειν
 τάληθες αἰὲ καὶ διπλοῦς πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ. 395
 πάλαι πάλαι χρῆν τῇδε συγκάμνειν χθονὶ
 ἐλθόντα, καὶ μὴ τοῦπὶ σ' Ἀργείων ὑπο
 Τροίαν ἐᾶσαι πολεμίων πεσεῖν δορί.
 οὐ γάρ τι λέξεις ὥς ἄκλητος ὢν φίλοις
 οὐκ ἦλθες οὐδ' ἤμυνας οὐδ' ἐπεστράφης. 400

378 καταφθίμενον.

387 καταπνέϊ.

τίς γάρ σε κῆρυξ ἢ γερουσία Φρυγῶν
 ἐλθοῦς' ἀμύνειν οὐκ ἐπέσκηψεν πόλει;
 ποῖον δὲ δώρων κόσμον οὐκ ἐπέμψαμεν;
 σὺ δ' ἐγγενῆς ὦν βάρβαρός τε βαρβάρους
 "Ἑλλησιν ἡμᾶς προύπιες τὸ σὸν μέρος. 405
 καίτοι σε μικρᾶς ἐκ τυραννίδος μέγαν
 Θρηκῶν ἄνακτα τῇδ' ἔθηκ' ἐγὼ χερί,
 ὅτ' ἀμφὶ Πάγγαιόν τε Παιόνων τε γῆν
 Θρηκῶν ἀρίστοις ἐμπεσὼν κατὰ στόμα
 ἔρρηξα πέλτην, σοὶ δὲ δουλώσας λεῶν 410
 παρέσχον· ὦν σὺ λακτίσας πολλὰν χάριν,
 φίλων νοσούντων ὕστερος βοηδρομεῖς.
 οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐγγενεῖς πεφυκότες,
 πάλαι παρόντες, οἳ μὲν ἐν χωστοῖς τάφοις
 κεῖνται πεσόντες, πίστις οὐ σμικρὰ πόλει, 415
 οἳ δ' ἐν θ' ὅπλοισι καὶ παρ' ἰππέοις ὄχοις
 ψυχρὰν ἄησιν δίψιόν τε πῦρ θεοῦ
 μένουσι καρτεροῦντες, οὐκ ἐν δεμνίοις
 πυκνὴν ἄμυστιν ὥς σὺ δεξιούμενοι.
 ταῦθ', ὥς ἂν εἰδῇς "Ἐκτορ' ὄντ' ἐλεύθερον, 420
 καὶ μέμφομαί σοι καὶ λέγω κατ' ὄμμα σόν.

ΡΗ. τοιοῦτός εἰμι καὐτός, εὐθεῖαν λόγων
 τέμνων κέλευθον, κοῦ διπλοῦς πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ.
 ἐγὼ δὲ μεῖζον ἢ σὺ τῇσδ' ἀπὼν χθονὸς
 λύπη πρὸς ἧπαρ δυσφορῶν ἐτειρόμην· 425
 ἀλλ' ἀγχιτέρμων γαῖά μοι, Σκύθης λεώς,
 μέλλουσι νόστον τὸν πρὸς Ἴλιον περᾶν
 ξυνῆψε πόλεμον· Εὐξένου δ' ἀφικόμην
 πόντου πρὸς ἀκτάς, Θρηῆκα πορθμεύσων στρα-
 τόν.

ἔνθ' αἵματηρὸς πέλανος ἐς γαῖαν Σκύθης 430
 ἤντλειτο λόγχῃ Θρήξ τε συμμιγῆς φόνος.
 τοιάδε τοί μ' ἀπείργε συμφορὰ πέδον
 Τροίας ἰκέσθαι σύμμαχόν τέ σοι μολεῖν.
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπερσα, τῶνδ' ὀμηρεύσας τέκνα,
 τάξας ἔτειον δασμόν ἐς δόμους φέρειν, 435
 ἥκω περάσας ναυσὶ πόντιον στόμα,
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα πεζὸς γῆς περὼν ὀρίσματα,
 οὐχ ὥς σὺ κομπεῖς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμύστιδας,
 οὐδ' ἐν ζαχρύσοις δώμασιν κοιμώμενος,
 ἀλλ' οἶα πόντον Θρήκιον φυσήματα 440
 κρυσταλλόπηκτα Παϊονάς τ' ἐπεξάρει,
 ξὺν τοῖσδ' ἄυπνος οἶδα τλὰς πορπάμασιν.
 ἀλλ' ὕστερος μὲν ἦλθον, ἐν καιρῷ δ' ὅμως·
 σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη δέκατον αἰχμάζεις ἔτος
 κούδεν περαίνεις, ἡμέραν δ' ἐξ ἡμέρας 445
 πίπτεις κυβεύων τὸν πρὸς Ἀργείους Ἄρη·
 ἐμοὶ δὲ φῶς ἐν ἡλίου καταρκέσει
 πέρσαντι πύργους ναυστάθμοις ἐπεσπεσεῖν
 κτεῖναί τ' Ἀχαιοὺς· θατέρᾳ δ' ἀπ' Ἰλίου
 πρὸς οἶκον εἴμι, συντεμὼν τοὺς σους πόρους. 450
 ὑμῶν δὲ μή τις ἀσπίδ' ἄρηται χερί·
 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔξω τοὺς μέγ' αὐχοῦντας δορὶ
 πέρσας Ἀχαιοὺς, καίπερ ὕστερος μολών.

ΧΟ. *ἰὼ ἰώ.*

stroph.

φίλα θροεῖς, φίλος Διόθεν εἰ· μόνον 455
 φθόνον ἄμαχον ὕπατος

441 ἐπεξάτει.

442 πορπήμασιν LP: πορπάσμασιν VO.

449 θ' ἡτέρᾳ.

451 αἶρηται V: αἰρεῖται O: αἰρέτω LP.

Ζεὺς θέλοι ἀμφὶ
 σοῖς λόγοισιν εἶργειν.
 τὸ δὲ νάιον Ἀργόθεν δόρυ
 οὔτε πρίν τιν' οὔτε νῦν 460
 ἀνδρῶν ἐπόρευσε σέθεν κρείσσω.
 πῶς μοι τὸ σὸν ἔγχος Ἀχιλλεὺς ἂν δύναιτο,
 πῶς δ' Αἴας ὑπομεῖναι;
 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδ' ἔτ' ἡμαρ
 εἰσίδοιμ', ἄναξ, ὅτῳ πολυφόνου 465
 χειρὸς ἀποινάσαιο σᾶ λόγχα.

ΡΗ. τοιαῦτα μὲν σοι τῆς μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας
 πρᾶξαι παρέξω—σὺν δ' Ἀδραστεία λέγω—
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν ἐχθρῶν τήνδ' ἐλευθέραν πόλιν
 θῶμεν θεοῖσί τ' ἀκροθίνι ἐξέλης, 470
 ξὺν σοὶ στρατεύειν γῆν ἐπ' Ἀργείων θέλω
 καὶ πᾶσαν ἐλθὼν Ἑλλάδ' ἐκπέρσαι δορί,
 ὥς ἂν μάθωσιν ἐν μέρει πάσχειν κακῶς.

ΕΚ. εἰ τοῦ παρόντος τοῦδ' ἀπαλλαχθεὶς κακοῦ
 πόλιν νεμοίμην ὥς τὸ πρίν ποτ' ἀσφαλῆ, 475
 ἢ κάρτα πολλὴν θεοῖς ἂν εἰδείην χάριν.
 τὰ δ' ἀμφί τ' Ἀργος καὶ νομὸν τὸν Ἑλλάδος
 οὐχ ὧδε πορθεῖν ῥάδι, ὥς λέγεις, δορί.

ΡΗ. οὐ τοῦσδ' ἀριστέας φασὶν Ἑλλήνων μολεῖν;

ΕΚ. κοῦ μεμφόμεσθά γ', ἀλλ' ἄδην ἐλαύνομεν. 480

ΡΗ. οὐκοῦν κτανόντες τοῦσδε πᾶν εἰργάσμεθα.

ΕΚ. μή νυν τὰ πόρρω τὰγγύθεν μεθεὶς σκόπει.

460 πρίν οὔτε νῦν τιν'. 462 Ἀχιλλεὺς (so VP ἀχιλλεὺς OL)
 τὸ σὸν ἔγχος. 464 τόδ' ἡμαρ. 465 ὅπως. 466 ἀποινάσαιο
 λόγχα. 482 νῦν.

- ΡΗ. ἀρκεῖν ἔοικέ σοι παθεῖν, δρᾶσαι δὲ μή.
 ΕΚ. πολλῆς γὰρ ἄρχω κἀνθάδ' ὦν τυραννίδος.
 ἀλλ' εἴτε λαιὸν εἴτε δεξιὸν κέρας 485
 εἴτ' ἐν μέσοισι συμμάχοις πάρεστί σοι
 πέλτην ἐρεῖσαι καὶ καταστήσαι στρατόν.
 ΡΗ. μόνος μάχεσθαι πολεμίοις, Ἐκτορ, θέλω.
 εἰ δ' αἰσχρὸν ἡγήῃ μὴ συνεμπρήσαι νεῶν
 πρύμνας, πονήσας τὸν πάρος πολὺν χρόνον, 490
 τάξον μ' Ἀχιλλέως καὶ στρατοῦ κατὰ στόμα.
 ΕΚ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἐκείνῳ θοῦρον ἐντάξαι δόρυ.
 ΡΗ. καὶ μὴν λόγος γ' ἦν ὡς ἔπλευσ' ἐπ' Ἴλιον.
 ΕΚ. ἔπλευσε καὶ πάρεστιν· ἀλλὰ μνηίων
 στρατηλάταισιν οὐ συναίρεται δόρυ. 495
 ΡΗ. τίς δὴ μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλος εὐδοξεῖ στρατοῦ;
 ΕΚ. Αἴας ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν ἡσσᾶσθαι δοκεῖ
 χῶ Τυδέως παῖς· ἔστι δ' αἰμυλώτατον
 κρότημ' Ὀδυσσεύς, λῆμά τ' ἀρκούντως θρασὺς
 καὶ πλείεστα χώραν τήνδ' ἀνὴρ καθυβρίσας· 500
 ὃς εἰς Ἀθήνας σηκὸν ἔννυχος μολὼν
 κλέψας ἄγαλμα ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων φέρει.
 ἤδη δ' ἀγύρτης πτωχικὴν ἔχων στολὴν
 ἐσῆλθε πύργους, πολλὰ δ' Ἀργείοις κακὰ
 ἡρᾶτο, πεμφθεὶς Ἰλίου κατάσκοπος· 505
 κτανὼν δὲ φρουροὺς καὶ παραστάτας πυλῶν
 ἐξῆλθεν· αἰεὶ δ' ἐν λόχοις εὐρίσκεται
 Θυμβραῖον ἀμφὶ βωμὸν ἄστεως πέλας
 θάσσω· κακῷ δὲ μερμέρῳ παλαίομεν.
 ΡΗ. οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ εὐψυχος ἀξιοῖ λάθρα 510
 κτεῖναι τὸν ἐχθρόν, ἀλλ' ἰὼν κατὰ στόμα.
 τοῦτον δ' ὃν ἵζειν φῆς σὺ κλωπικὰς ἔδρας

καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι, ζῶντα συλλαβὼν ἐγὼ
 πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοισιν ἀμπίρας ῥάχιν
 στήσω πετεινοῖς γυψὶ θοινατήριον. 515

ληστήν γὰρ ὄντα καὶ θεῶν ἀνάκτορα
 συλῶντα δεῖ νιν τῷδε κατθανεῖν μόρῳ.

ΕΚ. νῦν μὲν καταυλίσθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὐφρόνη.
 δείξω δ' ἐγὼ σοι χῶρον, ἔνθα χρὴ στρατὸν
 τὸν σὸν νυχεῦσαι τοῦ τεταγμένου δίχα. 520
 ξύνθημα δ' ἡμῖν Φοῖβος, ἦν τι καὶ δέη·
 μέμνησ' ἀκούσας Θρηκί τ' ἄγγειλον στρατῷ.
 ὑμᾶς δὲ βάντας χρὴ προταινὶ τάξεων
 φρουρεῖν ἐγερτὶ καὶ νεῶν κατάσκοπον
 δέχθαι Δόλωνα· καὶ γάρ, εἴπερ ἐστὶ σῶς, 525
 ἤδη πελάζει στρατοπέδοισι Τρωικοῖς.

ΧΟ. τίνος ἂ φυλακά; τίς ἀμείβει stroph.
 τὰν ἐμάν; πρῶτα
 δύεται σημεῖα καὶ ἐπτάποροι
 Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι· μέσα δ' αἰετὸς 530
 οὐρανοῦ ποτᾶται.
 ἔγρεσθε, τί μέλλετε; κοιτᾶν
 ἔξιτε πρὸς φυλακάν.
 οὐ λεύσσετε μηνάδος αἴγλαν;
 ἄως δὴ πέλας ἄως 535
 γίγνεται, καί
 τις προδρομῶν ὅδε γ' ἐστὶν ἀστήρ.

ΗΜ. τίς ἐκηρύχθη πρώτην φυλακὴν;

ΗΜ. Μυγδόνος υἱὸν φασὶ Κόροιβον.

525 δέχεσθαι (δέχεσθε Ο).

533 ἔγρεσθε.

537 προδόμων

VO: πρὸ δόμων LP.

ΗΜ. τίς γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ; ΗΜ. Κίλικας Παίων 540
στρατὸς ἡγείρεν, Μυσοὶ δ' ἡμᾶς.

ΗΜ. οὐκοῦν Λυκίους πέμπτην φυλακὴν
βάντας ἐγείρειν
καιρὸς κλήρου κατὰ μοῖραν. 545

ΧΟ. καὶ μὴν αἶψ' Σιμόεντος antistr.
ἡμένα κοίτας
φοινίας ὕμνῃ πολυχорδοτάτα
γῆρυϊ παιδολέτωρ μελοποιὸς ἀ-
ηδονὶς μέριμναν· 550
ἤδη δὲ νέμουσι κατ' Ἴδαν
ποίμνια· νυκτιβρόμου
σύριγγος ἰὰν κατακούω·
θέλγει δ' ὄμματος ἔδραν
ὑπνος· ἄδιστ- 555
ος γὰρ ἔβα βλεφάροις πρὸς αὐτοῦς.

ΗΜ. τί ποτ' οὐ πελάθει σκοπὸς, ὃν ναῶν
Ἐκτωρ ὥτρυνε κατόπταν;

ΗΜ. ταρβῶ· χρόνιος γὰρ ἄπεστιν.

ΗΜ. ἀλλ' ἢ κρυπτὸν λόχον ἐσπαίσας 560
διόλωλε; ΗΜ. τάχ' ἄν. φοβερόν μοι.

ΗΜ. αὐδῶ Λυκίους πέμπτην φυλακὴν
βάντας ἐγείρειν
ἡμᾶς κλήρου κατὰ μοῖραν.

550 μέριμνα (μερίμνα V). 551-630 wanting in V (see on 112).

552 νυκτιδρόμου. 556 βλεφάροις. 560 εἰσπαίσας O: εἰσπε-
σὼν LP(V). 561 Change of speaker after διόλωλε is indicated by
Murray. τάχ' ἄν εἴη φοβερόν μοι.

ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ.

Διόμηδες, οὐκ ἤκουσας—ἧ κενὸς ψόφος 565
 στάζει δι' ὧτων;—τευχέων τινὰ κτύπον;

ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ.

οὐκ, ἀλλὰ δεσμὰ πωλικῶν ἐξ ἀντύγων
 κλάζει σιδήρου· καμέ τοι, πρὶν ἡσθόμην
 δεσμῶν ἀραγμὸν ἱππικῶν, ἔδν φόβος.

ΟΔ. ὄρα κατ' ὄρφνην μὴ φύλαξιν ἐντύχης. 570

ΔΙ. φυλάξομαί τοι καὶ σκότῳ τιθεὶς πόδα.

ΟΔ. ἦν δ' οὖν ἐγείρης, οἶσθα σύνθημα στρατοῦ;

ΔΙ. Φοῖβον Δόλωνος οἶδα σύμβολον κλύων.

ΟΔ. ἔα·

εὐνὰς ἐρήμους τάσδε πολεμίων ὀρώ.

ΔΙ. καὶ μὴν Δόλων γε τάσδ' ἔφραζεν Ἑκτορος 575
 κοίτας, ἐφ' ᾧπερ ἔγχος εἴλκυσται τόδε.

ΟΔ. τί δῆτ' ἂν εἶη; μῶν λόχος βέβηκέ ποι;

ΔΙ. ἴσως ἐφ' ἡμῖν μηχανὴν στήσων τινά.

ΟΔ. θρασὺς γὰρ Ἑκτωρ νῦν, ἐπεὶ κρατεῖ, θρασύς.

ΔΙ. τί δῆτ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, δρῶμεν; οὐ γὰρ ἠϋρομεν 580
 τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐν εὐναῖς, ἐλπίδων δ' ἡμάρτομεν.

ΟΔ. στείχωμεν ὥς τάχιστα ναυστάθμων πέλας.
 σφάζει γὰρ αὐτὸν ὅστις εὐτυχῇ θεῶν
 τίθησιν· ἡμῖν δ' οὐ βιαστέον τύχην.

ΔΙ. οὐκοῦν ἐπ' Αἰνέαν ἢ τὸν ἔχθιστον Φρυγῶν 585
 Πάριν μολόντε χρὴ κατατομεῖν ξίφει.

ΟΔ. πῶς οὖν ἐν ὄρφνῃ πολεμίων ἀνὰ στρατὸν
 ζητῶν δυνήσῃ τούσδ' ἀκινδύνως κτανεῖν;

- ΔΙ. αἰσχρόν γε μέντοι ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν
δράσαντε μηδὲν πολεμίους νεώτερον. 590
- ΟΔ. πῶς δ' οὐ δέδρακας; οὐ κτανόντε ναυστάθμων
κατάσκοπον Δόλωνα σῶζομεν τάδε
σκυλεύματ'; ἢ πᾶν στρατόπεδον πέρσειν δοκεῖς;
- ΔΙ. πείθεις, πάλιν στείχωμεν· εὐ δ' εἴη τυχεῖν.

ΑΘΗΝΑ.

- ποῖ δὴ λιπόντες Τρωικῶν ἐκ τάξεων 595
χωρεῖτε, λύπη καρδίαν δεδηγμένοι,
εἰ μὴ κτανεῖν σφῶν Ἑκτορ' ἢ Πάριν θεὸς
δίδωσιν; ἄνδρα δ' οὐ πέπυσθε σύμμαχον
Τροία μολόντα Ῥῆσον οὐ φαύλῳ τρόπῳ;
ὃς εἰ διοίσει νύκτα τήνδ' ἐς αὔριον, 600
οὔτ' ἂν σφ' Ἀχιλλεὺς οὔτ' ἂν Αἴαντος δόρυ
μὴ πάντα πέρσαι ναύσταθμ' Ἀργείων σχέθαι,
τείχη κατασκάψαντα καὶ πυλῶν ἔσω
λόγχῃ πλατεῖαν ἐσδρομὴν ποιούμενον.
τοῦτον κατακτὰς πάντ' ἔχεις. τὰς δ' Ἑκτορος
εὐνὰς ἔασον καὶ κατατόμους σφαγὰς. 606
ἔσται γὰρ αὐτῷ θάνατος ἐξ ἄλλης χερὸς.
- ΟΔ. δέσποιν' Ἀθάνα, φθέγματος γὰρ ἡσθόμην
τοῦ σοῦ συνήθη γῆρυν· ἐν πόνοισι γὰρ
παροῦσ' ἀμύνεις τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀεὶ ποτε. 610
τὸν ἄνδρα δ' ἡμῖν ποῦ κατηύνασται φράσον·
πόθεν τέτακται βαρβάρου στρατεύματος;
- ΑΘ. ὃδ' ἐγγὺς ἦσται κοῦ συνήθροισται στρατῷ,
ἀλλ' ἐκτὸς αὐτὸν τάξεων κατηύνασεν
Ἑκτωρ, ἕως ἂν νύξ ἀμείψηται φάος. 615

πέλας δὲ πῶλοι Θρηκίων ἐξ ἀρμάτων
 λευκαὶ δέδενται, διαπρεπεῖς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ·
 στίλβουσι δ' ὥστε ποταμίου κύκνου πτερόν.
 ταύτας, κτανόντες δεσπότην, κομίζετε,
 κάλλιστον οἴκοις σκῦλον· οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπου β20
 τοιόνδ' ὄχημα χθὼν κέκευθε πωλικόν.

ΟΔ. Διόμηδες, ἣ σὺ κτεῖνε Θρήκιον λεών,
 ἣ 'μοὶ πάρες γε, σοὶ δὲ χρή πώλους μέλειν.

ΔΙ. ἐγὼ φονεύσω, πωλοδαμνήσεις δὲ σύ·
 τρίβων γὰρ εἰ τὰ κομψὰ καὶ νοεῖν σοφός. 625
 χρή δ' ἄνδρα τάσσειν οὐ μάλιστ' ἂν ὠφελοῖ.

ΑΘ. καὶ μὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς τόνδ' Ἀλέξανδρον βλέπω
 στείχοντα, φυλάκων ἔκ τινος πεπυσμένον
 δόξας ἀσήμους πολεμίων μεμβλωκότων.

ΔΙ. πότερα σὺν ἄλλοις ἢ μόνος πορεύεται; 630

ΑΘ. μόνος· πρὸς εὐνὰς δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἔκτορος
 χωρεῖ, κατόπτας σημανῶν ἥκειν στρατοῦ.

ΔΙ. οὐκοῦν ὑπάρχειν τόνδε κατθανόντα χρή.

ΑΘ. οὐκ ἂν δύναιο τοῦ πεπρωμένου πλέον.
 τοῦτον δὲ πρὸς σῆς χειρὸς οὐ θέμις θανεῖν. 635
 ἀλλ' ὧπερ ἥκεις μορσίμους φέρων σφαγᾶς,
 τάχυν'· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷδε σύμμαχος Κύπρις
 δοκοῦσ' ἀρωγὸς ἐν πόνοις παραστατεῖν,
 σαθροῖς λόγοισιν ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρ' ἀμείψομαι.
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μὲν εἶπον· ὃν δὲ χρή παθεῖν, 640
 οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδ' ἥκουσεν ἐγγὺς ὢν λόγον.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ.

σὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ κασίγνητον λέγω,
 Ἔκτορ, καθεύδεις; οὐκ ἐγείρεσθαί σε χρήν;

ἐχθρῶν τις ἡμῖν χρίμπτεται στρατεύματι,
ἢ κλῶπες ἄνδρες ἢ κατὰσκοποὶ τινες. 645

ΑΘ. θάρσει· φυλάσσει σ' ἥδε πρευμενῆς Κύπρις.
μέλει δ' ὁ σός μοι πόλεμος, οὐδ' ἀμνημονῶ
τιμῆς, ἐπαινῶ δ' εὖ παθοῦσα πρὸς σέθεν.
καὶ νῦν ἐπ' εὐτυχοῦντι Τρωικῷ στρατῷ
ἤκω πορεύουσ' ἄνδρα σοι μέγαν φίλον, 650
τῆς ὕμνοποιου παῖδα Θρήκιον θεᾶς
Μούσης· πατὴρ δὲ Στρυμόνος κικλήσκεται.

ΑΛ. αἰέ ποτ' εὖ φρονοῦσα τυγχάνεις πόλει
κάμοί, μέγιστον δ' ἐν βίῳ κειμήλιον
κρίνας σέ φημι τῇδε προσθέσθαι πόλει. 655
ἤκω δ' ἀκούσας οὐ τορῶς, φήμη δέ τις
φύλαξιν ἐμπέπτωκεν, ὥς κατὰσκοποὶ
ἤκουσ' Ἀχαιῶν. χῶ μὲν οὐκ ἰδὼν λέγει,
ὃ δ' εἰσιδὼν μολόντας οὐκ ἔχει φράσαι·
ὦν οὔνεκ' εὐνὰς ἤλυθον πρὸς Ἴεκτορος. 660

ΑΘ. μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· οὐδὲν ἐν στρατῷ νέον·
Ἴεκτωρ δὲ φροῦδος Θρήκα κοιμήσων στρατόν.

ΑΛ. σύ τοί με πείθεις, σοῖς δὲ πιστεύων λόγοις
τάξιν φυλάξων εἰμ' ἐλεύθερος φόβου.

ΑΘ. χώρει· μέλειν γὰρ πάντ' ἐμοὶ δόκει τὰ σά, 665
ὥστ' εὐτυχοῦντας συμμάχους ἐμοὺς ὀρᾶν.
γνώσῃ δὲ καὶ σὺ τὴν ἐμὴν προθυμίαν.

ὕμᾱς δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄγαν ἐρρωμένους,
Λαερτίου παῖ, θηκτὰ κοιμίσαι ξίφη.
κεῖται γὰρ ἡμῖν Θρήκιος στρατηλάτης 670
ἵπποι τ' ἔχονται, πολέμιοι δ' ἡσθημένοι
χωροῦσ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ὅσον τάχιστα χρὴ

φεύγειν πρὸς ὄλκους ναυστάθμων. τί μέλλετε
σκηπτοῦ 'πιόντος πολεμίων σῶσαι βίον;

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

ἔα ἔα·

βάλε βάλε βάλε βάλε, 675

θένε θένε· τίς ἀνήρ;

λεύσσετε, τοῦτον αὐδῶ.

κλῶπες οἵτινες κατ' ὄρφνην τόνδε κινούσι
στρατόν.

δεῦρο πᾶς. 680

τούσδ' ἔχω, τούσδ' ἔμαρψα.

τίς ὁ λόχος; πόθεν ἔβας; ποδαπὸς εἶ;

ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ.

οὐ σε χρὴ εἰδέναι· θανῇ γὰρ σήμερον δράσας
κακῶς.

ΧΟ. οὐκ ἐρεῖς ξύνθημα, λόγχην πρὶν διὰ στέρνων
μολεῖν;

ΟΔ. ἴστω. θάρσει. ΧΟ. πέλας ἴθι. παῖε πᾶς. 685

ΟΔ. ἦ σὺ δὴ Ῥῆσον κατέκτας; ΧΟ. ἀλλὰ τὸν
κτενοῦντα σέ...

ΟΔ. ἴσχε πᾶς τις. ΗΜ. οὐ μὲν οὖν. ΟΔ. ᾧ, φίλιον
ἄνδρα μὴ θένης.

ΗΜ. καὶ τί δὴ τὸ σῆμα; ΟΔ. Φοῖβος. ΗΜ. ἔμα-
θον· ἴσχε πᾶς δόρυ.

680 δεῦρο δεῦρο πᾶς. 685 ἴστω. 686 assigned to semichorus.
ἦ σὺ δὴ. 687 μενοῦν Ο: μενῶ VLP. ᾧ ᾧ. The verse is assigned
to Ὀδ. by VL and later hand in P, to Χο. by O, to ἡμιχ. by P.

ΗΜ. οἷσθ' ὅποι βεβᾶσιν ἄνδρες; ΟΔ. τῇδ' ἐπὶ
κατείδομεν.

ἔρπε πᾶς κατ' ἔχνος αὐτῶν. ΧΟ. ἡ βοὴν
ἐγερτέον; 690

ΗΜ. ἀλλὰ συμμάχους ταρασσεῖν δεινὸν ἐκ νυκτῶν
φόβῳ.

ΧΟ. τίς ἀνδρῶν ὁ βᾶς; stroph.

τίς ὁ μέγα θρασὺς ἐπεύξεται

χέρα φυγῶν ἐμάν;

πόθεν νιν κυρήσω; 695

τίνι προσεικάσω,

ὅστις δι' ὄρφνης ἦλθ' ἀδειμάντῳ ποδὶ

διὰ τε τάξεων καὶ φυλάκων ἔδρας;

Θεσσαλὸς ἦ

παραλίαν Λοκρῶν νεμόμενος πόλιν; 700

ἡ νησιώτην σποράδα κέκτηται βίον;

τίς ἦν; πόθεν; ποίας πάτρας;

ποῖον δ' εὔχεται τὸν ὑπατον θεῶν;

ΗΜ. ἄρ' ἔστ' Ὀδυσσέως τοῦργον ἡ τίνος τόδε;

εἰ τοῖς πάροιθεν χρὴ τεκμαίρεσθαι, τί μὴν; 705

ΗΜ. δοκεῖς γάρ; ΗΜ. τί μὴν οὔ;

ΗΜ. θρασὺς γοῦν ἐς ἡμᾶς.

ΗΜ. τίν' ἀλκὴν; τίν' αἰνεῖς; ΗΜ. Ὀδυσσῆ.

ΗΜ. μὴ κλωπὸς αἶνει φωτὸς αἰμύλον δόρυ.

ΧΟ. ἔβα καὶ πάρος antistr. 710

κατὰ πόλιν, ὑπαφρον ὅμμ' ἔχων,

689 ὅπη (η corrected from ο in P). 693 θράσος. 694 χεῖρα.

702 πόθεν ἦ Ο: ἡ πόθεν ἐστὶν ἦ V: γὰρ ἡ πόθεν ἐστὶν ἦ LP.

703 ποῖον εὔχεται.

ῥακοδύτῳ στολᾷ
 πυκασθεῖς, ξιφήρης
 κρύφιος ἐν πέπλοις.
 βίον δ' ἐπαιτῶν εἶρπ' ἀγύρτης τις λάτρης, 715
 ψαφαρόχρουν κᾶρα πολυπινές τ' ἔχων.
 πολλὰ δὲ τὰν
 βασιλίδ' ἐστίαν Ἀτρειδᾶν κακῶς
 ἔβαζε δῆθεν ἐχθρὸς ὦν στρατηλάταις.
 ὅλοιτ' ὅλοιτο πανδίκως, 720
 πρὶν ἐπὶ γᾶν Φρυγῶν ποδὸς ἵχνος βαλεῖν.

ΗΜ. εἴτ' οὖν Ὀδυσσέως εἶτε μή, φόβος μ' ἔχει.
 Ἐκτωρ γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῖς φύλαξι μέμψεται.

ΗΜ. τί λάσκων; ΗΜ. δυσοίζων.

ΗΜ. τί δράσας; τί ταρβεῖς; 725

ΗΜ. καθ' ἡμᾶς περᾶσαι ΗΜ. τίν' ἀνδρῶν;

ΗΜ. οὐ τῆσδε νυκτὸς ἦλθον ἐς Φρυγῶν στρατόν.

ΗΝΙΟΧΟΣ.

ἰώ, δαίμονος τύχα βαρεῖα. φεῦ φεῦ.

ΧΟ. ἔα.

σῖγα πᾶς ὑφίξ'. ἴσως γὰρ ἐς βόλον τις
 ἔρχεται. 730

ΗΝ. ἰὼ ἰώ,

συμφορὰ βαρεῖα Θρηκῶν. ΧΟ. συμμάχων τις
 ὁ στένων.

714 κρυφαῖος. From this line O is wanting. 725 δρᾶς VL:
 δρᾶς δὴ P and a corrector in L. 730 ὑφίξος εἰς V: ὑβριζ' ἴσως LP.
 γὰρ εἰσβολή (corrected in L to εἰς βόλον) τις ἔρχεται LP: εἰς βίλον
 γὰρ ἴσως τις ἔρχεται V. The MSS. have the note Xo. after πᾶς.
 731 Θρηκῶν συμμάχων. ΗΜ. τίς.

- ΗΝ. ἰὼ ἰώ,
 δύστηνος ἐγὼ σύ τ', ἄναξ Θρηκῶν.
 ὦ στυγνοτάτην Τροίαν ἐσιδών,
 οἶόν σε βίου τέλος εἶλεν. 735
- ΧΟ. τίς εἰ ποτ' ἀνδρῶν συμμάχων; κατ' εὐφρόνην
 ἀμβλῶπες αὐγαὶ κοῦ σε γιγνώσκω τορῶς.
- ΗΝ. ποῦ τιν' ἀνάκτων Τρώων εὖρω;
 ποῦ δῆθ' Ἑκτωρ
 τὸν ὑπασπίδιον κοῖτον ἰαύει; 740
 τίνι σημῆνω διόπων στρατιᾶς
 οἶα πεπόνθαμεν, οἶά τις ἡμᾶς
 δράσας ἀφανῆ φροῦδος, φανερόν
 Θρηξιν πένθος τολυπεύσας;
- ΧΟ. κακὸν κυρεῖν τι Θρηκίῳ στρατεύματι 745
 ἔοικεν, οἶα τοῦδε γιγνώσκω κλύων.
- ΗΝ. ἔρρει στρατιά, πέπτωκεν ἄναξ
 δολίῳ πληγῇ.
 ᾶ ᾶ ᾶ ᾶ,
 οἶα μ' ὀδύνη τείρει φονίου 750
 τραύματος εἶσω. πῶς ἂν ὀλοίμην;
 χρῆν γάρ μ' ἄκλεῶς Ῥῆσόν τε θανεῖν,
 Τροία κέλσαντ' ἐπίκουρον;
- ΧΟ. τάδ' οὐκ ἐν αἰνιγμοῖσι σημαίνει κακά·
 σαφῶς γὰρ αὐδᾶ συμμάχους ὀλωλότας. 755
- ΗΝ. κακῶς πέπρακται καπὶ τοῖς κακοῖσι πρὸς
 αἴσχιστα· καίτοι δις τόσον κακὸν τόδε·
 θανεῖν γὰρ εὐκλεῶς μέν, εἰ θανεῖν χρεών,
 λυπρὸν μὲν οἶμαι τῷ θανόντι· πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

738 Τρωικῶν.

741 δι' ὁπῶν V: διοπτῶν LP.

τοῖς ζῶσι δ' ὄγκος καὶ δόμων εὐδοξία. 760
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἀβούλως κἀκλεῶς ὀλώλαμεν.
 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἤνυσ' Ἐκτόρεια χεῖρ,
 ξύνθημα λέξας, ἠῦδομεν πεδοστιβεῖς,
 κόπῳ δαμέντες, οὐδ' ἐφρουρεῖτο στρατὸς
 φυλακαῖσι νυκτέροισιν, οὐδ' ἐν τάξεσιν 765
 ἔκειτο τεύχη, πληκτρά τ' οὐκ ἐπὶ ζυγοῖς
 ἵππων καθήρμισθ', ὥς ἄναξ ἐπεύθετο
 κρατοῦντας ὑμᾶς κἀφεδρεύοντας νεῶν
 πρύμναισι· φαύλως δ' ἠῦδομεν πεπτωκότες.
 κἀγὼ μελούσῃ καρδίᾳ λήξας ὕπνου 770
 πῶλοισι χόρτον, προσδοκῶν ἐωθινήν
 ζεύξειν ἐς ἀλκὴν, ἀφθόνῳ μετρῶ χερί.
 λεύσσω δὲ φῶτε περιπολοῦνθ' ἡμῶν στρατὸν
 πυκνῆς δι' ὄρφνης· ὥς δ' ἐκινήτην ἐγώ,
 ἐπτηξάτην τε κἀνεχωρείτην πάλιν· 775
 ἤπυσσα δ' αὐτοῖς μὴ πελάζεσθαι στρατῷ,
 κλῶπας δοκήσας συμμαχῶν πλάθειν τινάς.
 οἱ δ' οὐδέν· οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐγὼ τὰ πλείονα.
 ἠῦδον δ' ἀπελθὼν αὖθις ἐς κοίτην πάλιν.
 καί μοι καθ' ὕπνον δόξα τις παρίσταται· 780
 ἵππους γὰρ ἧς ἔθρεψα κἀδιφρηλάτουν
 Ῥήσῳ παρεστῶς, εἶδον, ὥς ὄναρ δοκῶν,
 λύκους ἐπεμβεβῶτας ἐδραῖαν ῥάχιν·
 θείνουντε δ' οὐρᾷ πωλικῆς ῥινοῦ τρίχα
 ἤλαυνον, αἱ δ' ἔρρεγκον ἐξ ἀντηρίδων 785
 θυμὸν πνέουσai κἀνεχαίτιζον φόβῳ.
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀμύνων θήρας ἐξεγείρομαι

762 ἐκτορέα χεῖρ εὐνάσε V : εὐνας' ἐκτορία χεῖρ LP, but in L εἰ is
 written over ἰ. 785 ἔρρεγκον.

πώλοισιν· ἔννυχος γὰρ ἐξώρμα φόβος.
 κλύω δ' ἐπάρας κρῆτα μυχθισμὸν νεκρῶν.
 θερμὸς δὲ κρουνὸς δεσπότην πάρα σφαγαῖς 790
 βάλλει με δυσθνήσκοντος αἵματος νέου.
 ὀρθὸς δ' ἀνάσσω χειρὶ σὺν κενῇ δορός.
 καί μ' ἔγχος αὐγάζοντα καὶ θηρώμενον
 παίει παραστὰς νεῖραν ἐς πλευρὰν ξίφει
 ἀνὴρ ἀκμάζων· φασγάνου γὰρ ἡσθόμην 795
 πληγῆς, βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα τραύματος λαβών.
 πίπτω δὲ πρηνής· οἱ δ' ὄχημα πωλικὸν
 λαβόντες ἵππων ἴεσαν φυγῇ πόδα.
 ᾧ ᾧ.

ὀδύνη με τείρει, κούκέτ' ὀρθοῦμαι τάλας.
 καὶ ξυμφορὰν μὲν οἶδ' ὀρών, τρόπῳ δ' ὅτῳ 800
 τεθνᾶσιν οἱ θανόντες οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι,
 οὐδ' ἐξ ὁποίας χειρός. εἰκάσαι δέ μοι
 πάρεστι λυπρὰ πρὸς φίλων πεπονθέναι.

ΧΟ. ἡνίοχε Θρηκὸς τοῦ κακῶς πεπραγότος,
 μῆδὲν δυσοίζον· πολέμιοι ὄδρασαν τάδε. 805
 Ἐκτωρ δὲ καὐτὸς συμφορᾶς πεπυσμένος
 χωρεῖ· συναλγεί δ', ὥς ἔοικε, σοῖς κακοῖς.

ΕΚΤΩΡ.

πῶς, ᾧ μέγιστα πῆματ' ἐξειργασμένοι,
 μολόντες ὑμᾶς πολεμίων κατάσκοποι
 λήθουσιν αἰσχυρῶς, καὶ κατεσφάγη στρατός, 810
 κοῦτ' εἰσιόντας στρατόπεδ' ἐξαπώσατε

790 παρὰ. 792-811 are wanting in V. 794 νεῖαιραν
 (V)L: νεῖεραν P. πλευρὰν (V): πλευροῦ LP. 805 πολεμίους
 ὀράσαι.

οὐτ' ἐξιόντας; τῶνδε τίς τείσει δίκην
πλήν σου; σὲ γὰρ δὴ φύλακά φημ' εἶναι
στρατοῦ.

φρουδοὶ δ' ἄπληκτοι, τῇ Φρυγῶν κακανδρία
πόλλ' ἐγγελῶντες τῷ στρατηλάτῃ τ' ἐμοί. 815
εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴστε, Ζεὺς ὁμώμοσται πατήρ.
ἦτοι μάραγνά γ' ἡ καρανιστῆς μόρος
μένει σε δρῶντα τοιάδ', ἡ τὸν Ἑκτορα
τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι καὶ κακὸν νομίζετε.

ΧΟ. ἰὼ ἰώ, antistr. 820

μέγα σύ μοι, μέγ', ὦ πολίοχον κράτος,
τότ' ἄρ' ἔμολον, ὅτε σοι
ἄγγελος ἦλθον,
ἀμφὶ ναῦς πύρ' αἶθρην,
ἐπεὶ ἄγρυπνον ὄμμ' ἐν εὐφρόνῃ 825
οὐτ' ἐκοίμισ' οὐτ' ἔβριξ',
οὐ τὰς Σιμοεντιάδας πηγάς.
μή μοι κύτον, ὦ ἄνα, θῆς· ἀναίτιος γὰρ
† ἔγωγε πάντων. †
εἰ δὲ χρόνῳ παράκαιρον 830
ἔργον ἢ λόγον πύθῃ, κατὰ με γὰς
ζῶντα πόρευσον· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι.

ΗΝ. τί τοῖσδ' ἀπειλεῖς βάρβαρός τε βαρβάρου
γνώμην ὑφαιρῇ τὴν ἐμήν, πλέκων λόγους;
σὺ ταῦτ' ἔδρασας· οὐδέν' ἂν δεξαίμεθα 835

821 μέγας ἐμοί (μοι P. μοι with an erasure before μ, L): μέγας πολιοῦχον. 824 ναῦσι πυραΐθην Ἀργείων στρατόν (but στρατόν is erased in L, omitted in P).

827 οὐ μὰ τὰς σιμοεντίδας.

830 παρὰ καιρὸν.

οὔθ' οἱ θανόντες οὔτ' ἂν οἱ τετρωμένοι
 ἄλλον· μακροῦ γε δεῖ σε καὶ σοφοῦ λόγου,
 ὅτω με πείσεις μὴ φίλους κατακτανεῖν,
 ἵππων ἐρασθεῖς, ὧν ἕκατι συμμάχους
 τοὺς σοὺς φονεύεις, πόλλ' ἐπισκῆπτων μο-
 λείν. 840

ἦλθον, τεθνήσκειν· εὐπρεπέστερον Πάρις
 ξενίαν κατήσχυν' ἢ σὺν συμμάχους κτανών.
 μὴ γάρ τι λέξης ὥς τις Ἀργείων μολῶν
 διώλεσ' ἡμᾶς· τίς δ' ὑπερβαλὼν λόχους
 Τρώων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦλθεν, ὥστε καὶ λαθεῖν; 845
 σὺν πρόσθεν ἡμῶν ἦσο καὶ Φρυγῶν στρατός.
 τίς οὖν τέτρωται, τίς τέθνηκε συμμάχων
 τῶν σῶν, μολόντων ὧν σὺ πολεμίων λέγεις;
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐκὸς τετρώμεθ', οἱ δὲ μειζόνως
 παθόντες οὐχ ὀρώσιν ἡλίου φάος. 850

ἀπλῶς δ' Ἀχαιῶν οὐδέν' αἰτιώμεθα.
 τίς δ' ἂν χαμεύνας πολεμίων κατ' εὐφρόνην
 Ῥήσου μολὼν ἐξηῦρεν, εἰ μὴ τις θεῶν
 ἔφραζε τοῖς κτανούσιν; οὐδ' ἀφιγμένον
 τὸ πάμπαν ἦσαν· ἀλλὰ μηχανᾷ τάδε. 855

ΕΚ. χρόνον μὲν ἤδη συμμάχοισι χρώμεθα
 ὅσονπερ ἐν γῇ τῇδ' Ἀχαικὸς λεώς,
 κούδεν πρὸς αὐτῶν οἶδα πλημμελὲς κλύων·
 ἐν σοὶ δ' ἂν ἀρχοίμεσθα. μὴ μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι
 τοιοῦτος ἵππων ὥστ' ἀποκτείνειν φίλους. 860
 καὶ ταῦτ' Ὀδυσσεύς· τίς γὰρ ἄλλος ἂν ποτε
 ἔδρασεν ἢ βούλευσεν Ἀργείων ἀνὴρ;

- δέδοικα δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τί μου θράσσει φρένας,
μὴ καὶ Δόλωνα συντυχῶν κατακτάνη·
χρόνον γὰρ ἤδη φροῦδος ὦν οὐ φαίνεται. 865
- ΗΝ. οὐκ οἶδα τοὺς σοὺς οὖς λέγεις Ὀδυσσεάς·
ἡμεῖς δ' ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐδενὸς πεπλήγμεθα.
- ΕΚ. σὺ δ' οὖν νόμιζε ταῦτ', ἐπείπερ σοι δοκεῖ.
- ΗΝ. ὦ γαῖα πατρίς, πῶς ἂν ἐνθάνοιμί σοι;
- ΕΚ. μὴ θνήσχ'· ἄλλις γὰρ τῶν τεθνηκότων ὄχλος. 870
- ΗΝ. ποῖ δὴ τράπωμαι δεσποτῶν μονούμενος;
- ΕΚ. οἶκός σε κεύθων οὐμὸς ἐξιάσεται.
- ΗΝ. καὶ πῶς με κηδεύουσιν αὐθεντῶν χέρες;
- ΕΚ. ὅδ' αὖ τὸν αὐτὸν μῦθον οὐ λήξει λέγων.
- ΗΝ. ὅλοιθ' ὁ δράσας. οὐ γὰρ ἐς σέ τείνεται 875
γλῶσσ', ὥς σὺ κομπεῖς· ἡ Δίκη δ' ἐπίσταται.
- ΕΚ. λάζυσθ'· ἄγοντες δ' αὐτὸν ἐς δόμους ἐμούς,
οὕτως ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἔγκαλῃ πορσύνετε·
ὕμᾱς δ' ἰόντας τοῖσιν ἐν τείχει χρεῶν
Πριάμῳ τε καὶ γέρουσι σημήναι νεκροὺς 880
θάπτειν κελεύθου λεωφόρου πρὸς ἐκτροπάς.
- ΧΟ. τί ποτ' εὐτυχίας ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης
Τροίαν ἀνάγει πάλιν ἐς πένθη
δαίμων ἄλλος, τί φυτεύων;
ἔα ἔα. ὦ ὦ. 885
τίς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς θεός, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
τὸν νεόκμητον νεκρὸν ἐν χειροῖν
φοράδην πέμπει;
ταρβῶ, λεύσσω τόδε, πῆμα.

871 ποῖ δέ. 875 εἰς. 877 ἄγοντες αὐτὸν. 881 κελεύειν.
λαοφόρου LP: λαοφόρους V. 884 ἄλλο τι LP: ἄλλοτε V.
887 χερσῶν.

ΜΟΥΣΑ.

ὀρᾶν πάρεστι, Τρῶες· ἡ γὰρ ἐν σοφοῖς 890
 τιμὰς ἔχουσα Μοῦσα συγγόνων μία
 πάριμι, παῖδα τόνδ' ὀρώσ' οἰκτρῶς φίλον
 θανόνθ' ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν· ὅν ποθ' ὁ κτείνας χρόνῳ
 δόλιος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀξίαν τείσει δίκην.

ἰαλέμφῳ αὐθιγενεῖ, stroph. 895
 τέκνον, σ' ὀλοφύρομαι, ὦ
 ματρὸς ἄλγος, οἶαν
 ἔκελσας ὁδὸν ποτὶ Τροίαν·
 ἧ δυσδαίμονα καὶ μελέαν,
 ἀπομεμφομένης ἐμοῦ πορευθείς, 900
 ἀπὸ δ' ἀντομένου πατρὸς βιαίως.
 ὦμοι ἐγὼ σέθεν, ὦ φιλία
 φιλία κεφαλὰ, τέκνον, ὦμοι.

ΧΟ. ὅσον προσήκει μὴ γένους κοινωνίαν
 ἔχοντι λύπη τὸν σὸν οἰκτίρω γόνον. 905

ΜΟΥ. ὅλοιτο μὲν Οἰνεΐδας, antistr.
 ὅλοιτο δὲ Λαρτιάδας,
 ὅς μ' ἄπαιδα γέννας
 ἔθηκεν ἀριστοτόκοιο·
 ἃ θ' Ἑλλανα λιποῦσα δόμον 910
 Φρυγίων λεχέων ἐπλευσε πλαθεῖς·
 ὅπου ὤλεσε μὲν σ' ἑκατι Τροίας,
 φίλτατε, μυριάδας τε πόλεις

907 Λαρτιάδης V: Λαρτίδας LP. 909 ἀριστοτόκου.
 910 Ἑλένα. 912 ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ ὤλεσε μὲν σὲ κατὰ Τροίας (Τροίαν P).

ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκέκωσεν.

ἦ πολλὰ μὲν ζῶν, πολλὰ δ' εἰς "Αἶδου
μολών, 915

Φιλάμμονος παῖ, τῆς ἐμῆς ἥψω φρενός·

ὔβρις γάρ, ἥ σ' ἔσφηλε, καὶ Μουσῶν ἔρις
τεκεῖν μ' ἔθηκε τόνδε δύστηνον γόνον.

περῶσα γὰρ δὴ ποταμίους διὰ ῥοὰς
λέκτροις ἐπλάθην Στρυμόνος φυταλμίους, 920
ὅτ' ἤλθομεν γῆς χρυσόβωλον ἐς λέπας

Πάγγαιον ὀργάνοισιν ἐξησκημέναι

Μοῦσαι μεγίστην εἰς ἔριν μελωδίας

κείνῳ σοφιστῇ Θρηκί, κατυφλώσαμεν

Θάμυριν, ὃς ἡμῶν πόλλ' ἐδέσσασεν τέχνην.

κάπει σὲ τίκτω, συγγόνους αἰδουμένη 926

καὶ παρθενείαν ἦκ' ἐς εὐύδρου πατρὸς

δίνας· τρέφειν δέ σ' οὐ βρότειον ἐς χέρα

Στρυμὼν δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ πηγαίαις κόραις.

ἔνθ' ἐκτραφεῖς κάλλιστα παρθένων ὑπο, 930

Θρήκης ἀνάσσων πρῶτος ἦσθ' ἀνδρῶν, τέκνον.

καί σ' ἀμφὶ γῆν μὲν πατρίαν φιλαιμάτων

ἀλκὰς κορύσσοντ' οὐκ ἐδείμαινον θανεῖν·

Τροίας δ' ἀπηύδων ἄστυ μὴ κέλσαι ποτέ,

εἰδυῖα τὸν σὸν πότμον· ἀλλὰ σ' "Ἐκτορος 935

πρεσβεύμαθ' αἴ τε μυρίαι γερουσαί

ἔπεισαν ἐλθεῖν κάπικουρῆσαι φίλοις.

καὶ τοῦδ', Ἀθάνα, παντὸς αἰτία μόρου,

(οὐδὲν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐδ' ὁ Τυδέως τόκος

ἔδρασε δράσας) μὴ δόκει λεληθέναι. 940

919 διαρροὰς. 928 βροτεῖαν. 940 V is wanting after this verse. (V) is cited as before (v. on 112).

καίτοι πόλιν σὴν σύγγονοι πρεσβεύομεν
 Μοῦσαι μάλιστα κάπιχρώμεθα χθονί,
 μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς
 ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς, αὐτανέψιος νεκροῦ
 τοῦδ' ὃν κατακτείνεις σύ· Μουσαῖόν τε, σὸν 945
 σεμνὸν πολίτην κάπῃ πλείστον ἄνδρ' ἓνα
 ἐλθόντα, Φοῖβος σύγγονοί τ' ἡσκήσαμεν.
 καὶ τῶνδε μισθὸν παῖδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις
 θρηνῶ· σοφιστὴν δ' ἄλλον οὐκ ἐπάξομαι.

ΧΟ. μάτην ἄρ' ἡμᾶς Θρήκιος τροχηλάτης 950
 ἐδέυνασ', Ἐκτορ, τῷδε βουλευσαί φόνον.

ΕΚ. ἦδη τάδ'· οὐδὲν μάντεων ἔδει φράσαι
 Ὀδυσσέως τέχναισι τόνδ' ὀλωλότα.
 ἐγὼ δὲ γῆς ἔφεδρον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν
 λεύσσω, τί μὴν ἔμελλον οὐ πέμψειν φίλοις 955
 κήρυκας, ἐλθεῖν κάπικουρῆσαι χθονί;
 ἔπεμψ'· ὀφείλων δ' ἦλθε συμπονεῖν ἐμοί.
 οὐ μὴν θανόντι γ' οὐδαμῶς συνήδομαι.
 καὶ νῦν ἔτοιμος τῷδε καὶ τεύξαι τάφον
 καὶ ξυμπυρῶσαι μυρίων πέπλων χλιδὴν· 960
 φίλος γὰρ ἐλθὼν δυστυχῶς ἀπέρχεται.

ΜΟΤ. οὐκ εἴσι γαίας ἐς μελάγχχιμον πέδον·
 τοσόνδε Νύμφην τὴν ἔνερθ' αἰτήσομαι,
 τῆς καρποποιιοῦ παῖδα Δήμητρος θεᾶς,
 ψυχὴν ἀνεῖναι τοῦδ'· ὀφειλέτις δέ μοι 965
 τοὺς Ὀρφέως τιμῶσα φαίνεσθαι φίλους.
 καὶ μοὶ μὲν ὥς θανὼν τε κοῦ λεύσσω φάος
 ἔσται τὸ λοιπόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐς ταῦτόν ποτε

945 τοῦδ' οὖν κατακτείνασα (V): τοῦδ' οὐνεκα κτείνασα LP.
 950 στρατηλάτης.

οὐτ' εἶσιν οὔτε μητρὸς ὄψεται δέμας,
 κρυπτὸς δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς
 ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος, 971
 Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν
 ᾤκησε, σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός.

ῥᾶον δὲ πένθος τῆς θαλασσίας θεοῦ
 οἶσω· θανεῖν γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐκ κείνης χρεών. 975
 θρήνοις δ' ἀδελφαὶ πρῶτα μὲν σ' ὑμνήσομεν,
 ἔπειτ' Ἀχιλλέα Θέτιδος ἐν πένθει ποτέ.
 οὐ ῥύσεται νιν Παλλὰς, ἥ σ' ἀπέκτανεν·
 τοῖον φαρέτρα Λοξίου σῶζει βέλος.

ὦ παιδοποιοὶ συμφοραί, πόνοι βροτῶν· 980
 ὥς ὅστις ὑμᾶς μὴ κακῶς λογίζεται,
 ἅπαις διοίσει κού τεκῶν θάψει τέκνα.

ΧΟ. οὗτος μὲν ἤδη μητρὶ κηδεύειν μέλει·
 σὺ δ' εἴ τι πράσσειν τῶν προκειμένων θέλεις,
 Ἐκτορ, πάρεστι· φῶς γὰρ ἡμέρας τόδε. 985

ΕΚ. χωρεῖτε, συμμάχους δ' ὀπλίζεσθαι τάχος
 ἀνωχθε πληροῦν τ' αὐχένας ξυνωρίδων.
 πανοὺς δ' ἔχοντας χρὴ μένειν Τυρσηνικῆς
 σάλπιγγος αὐδῆν· ὥς ὑπερβαλὼν τάφρον
 τείχη τ' Ἀχαιῶν ναυσὶν αἶθρον ἐμβαλεῖν 990
 πέποιθα Τρωσί θ' ἡμέραν ἐλευθέραν
 ἀκτίνα τὴν στείχουσαν ἡλίου φέρειν.

ΧΟ. πείθου βασιλεῖ· στείχωμεν ὅπλοις
 κοσμησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχία
 τάδε φράζωμεν· τάχα δ' ἂν νίκην 995
 δοίη δαίμων ὁ μεθ' ἡμῶν.

970 τησδ'. 974 βαῖον. 988 πόνους. 989 ὑπερβάλλων.
 995 νίκαν.

NOTES

[Σ = Scholia to the *Rhesus*.]

1-6. 'Come to Hector's sleeping-quarters. Which of the king's squires or men-at-arms is awake? Let him receive from the young men their tale of tidings, who for the fourth watch of the night are set to guard the whole army!'

I have retained in these lines the readings of the mss. Modern editors (except Murray), objecting to the ambiguity of *v.* 4, *δέξαιτο νέων κληδόνα μύθων*, have emended the text so as to enable *νέων* to be taken with *μύθων* and provide another antecedent for *οἷ*. But in the acting of the play the ambiguity would not appear if the speaker paused slightly after *νέων*, and *κληδόνα μύθων* is a perfectly correct expression. *βᾶθι* is spoken by the leader to the chorus. *βᾶθι· ἀντὶ τοῦ βῶμεν*, Σ.

Wecklein adopts the reading *τις* for *τίς*. The sentence then becomes a request for one of the *ὑπασπισταί* to approach Hector's sleeping-place. *νέων* is taken with *μύθων*, and *τευχοφόρων* becomes antecedent to *οἷ.....προκάθηνται*. But the sense is not very attractive. 'Go, some wakeful member of the body-guard, to the quarters of Hector, or let him receive...'

Vater, Dindorf, and Paley read *τις* in *v.* 2, and adopt *εἰ* for *ἥ* in *v.* 3, following the edition of 1544. But *βᾶθι...εἰ δέξαιτο κληδόνα* is an expression to which it would be hard to find a parallel; moreover, it is unnatural that one of the *ὑπασπισταί* should be asked 'to go to the quarters of Hector.' He would be there already.

Finally, Nauck reads *τις* in *v.* 2, retains the *ἥ* of the mss. in *v.* 3, and transposes *v.* 4 after *v.* 9, emending *δέξαιτο* to *δέξει τε*. Then *ὑπασπιστῶν* and *τευχοφόρων* alike refer to the members of the

chorus who are on guard at the opening of the play (*v.* 538 ff.). This renders the distinction meaningless and ἄγρυπνος loses its point.

2. ὑπασπιστής· ὁ σύνεγγυς τοῦ βασιλέως παρασπίζων. τευχοφόρος· ὀπλίτης, Σ.

5. τετράμοιρον (only found here) should properly mean 'four-fold' but is used = τετάρτην. (So Σ.) Similarly we might speak of 'watch, section 4.' This use of the word is unexampled but Vater cf. τετράς 'the fourth day of the month.' In Homer the night is divided into three parts (*Il.* x. 253, *Od.* xiv. 483) but in this play five night-watches are mentioned (558 ff.). The present watch to which the chorus of Trojans has been appointed is the fourth. Σ. remarks that Euripides followed Stesichorus in reckoning five watches.

τετρ. φυλακήν, temporal accusative.

6. After πάσης στρατιᾶς L and P read πόλεως Τροίας. Perhaps a conflation of two readings has taken place. If so, the reading πόλεως Τροίας is less good, for the Trojan forces are now at some distance from the city, near the ships of the Greeks.

7. πῆχυν ἐρείσας, 'planting the fore-arm,' i.e. leaning on the elbow. For the use of ἐρείδω cf. 487 πέλτην ἐρείσαι. The present passage is imitated from *Il.* x. 80 ὀρθωθείς δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος, κεφαλὴν ἐπαείρας.

8. βλεφάρων γοργωπὸν ἔδραν, a periphrasis for βλέφαρα γοργωπά, cf. 554 ὄμματος ἔδραν θέλγει ὕπνος. F. W. Newman suggests as the source of the present description *Il.* viii. 349 Ἐκτωρ ... Γοργοῦς ὄμματ' ἔχων. For the periphrasis cf. Shakspeare, *Tempest*, I. 2. 408 'The fringed curtains of thine eye advance.'

12. σῆμα in the sense of 'watchword' only here and in *v.* 688. The usual word σύνθημα is found in 572, 684; σύμβολον occurs in the same sense, 573.

13. ἐκ νυκτῶν, 'in the night-watches.' The phrase recurs *vv.* 17 and 691, also Aesch. *Cho.* 287, Theognis 460, cf. too ἐξ ἡμέρας Soph. *El.* 780, ἐκ μεσημβρίας Archil. 74. 3 (*at mid-day*).

14. κόιτας πλάθουσ'. For πλάθω, a poetical form of πελάζω, with acc. of goal of motion, cf. (with Morstadt) *Andr.* 1167 δῶμα πελάζει. The omission of the preposition after verbs of motion is a favourite construction of Euripides, cf. in this play μολεῖν χθόνα (223),

μόλοι ναυκλήρια (233), Σπάρταν οίχομένων Ἀτρειδᾶν (365), ικέσθαι πέδον Τροίας (433), even κέλσαι ἄστυ (934).

15. τί φέρη θορύβῳ, 'why this haste and confusion?' Cf. *v.* 45. θορύβῳ in each case is modal dat.

17. λόχος, 'a surprise party,' as in *Il.* VIII. 522 μὴ λόχος εἰσέλθῃσι πόλιν λαῶν ἀπεόντων. With λόχος sc. πλάθει.

After *νυκτῶν* the MSS. add οὐκέτι (*VO* Haun.) or οὐκ ἔστι (*LP*). The metre shows that something has crept into the text. Paley omits *θαρσῶ* (*v.* 16) as having been inserted to answer *θάρσει* (but for a similar exhortation followed by asseveration cf. *Iph. Aul.* 1-5). He retains οὐκ ἔστι omitting *σύ*. I have preferred, with Wecklein and Murray, to retain *θαρσῶ* and *σύ* and omit οὐκ ἔστι. The words may have been inserted to provide an answer to Hector's question. Dr Murray even hazards the suggestion that they are 'quasi *παρεπιγραφή*' (*stage-direction*). The chorus would shake their heads in answer to Hector's question.

σύ. Paley remarks, "The *σύ* in τί σὺ γάρ... is bad Greek; the Greeks do not use the nominative of the personal pronoun unless emphasis is conveyed." But the emphasis may be laid on the whole clause and not on the pronoun alone. The use of *σύ* here implies impatience and irritation, just as in the phrase τί λέγεις σύ; *Ar. Nuθ.* 207, 'what's that you say, sir?' it adds a touch of insolence.

γάρ. R. Shilleto on *Thuc.* 1. 25. 4 argues that γάρ was not originally a causal particle. "Its usage in replies, δῆλον γάρ, οὐ γάρ etc. in interrogations (as in Latin *quisnam*, *nam quis*) in ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἀλλὰ...γάρ, after parenthesis, all such usages seem to indicate that it originally meant *truly*, *verily*." This explanation accords with the derivation of γάρ (*γε ἄρα*), and avoids the necessity, in such cases as those mentioned, of assuming an ellipse. The Greeks of course did not consciously distinguish γάρ as a causal particle and as a particle of emphasis, but the former was developed insensibly from the latter. In the present passage there is no immediate causal connection between the question τί σὺ γάρ... and the preceding statement. We may therefore regard γάρ here as a particle of emphasis and translate 'why pray then do you...?' Similar cases occur *vv.* 78, 133, 540, 706 (questions), 106 (ἀλλὰ γάρ), 484 (reply), 608 (after an apostrophe), 762 (after a parenthetical statement).

19. νυκτηγορίαν, 'news of the night.' In 89 νυκτηγοροῦσι=

'make a night report.' *νυκτηγορεῖσθαι*, Aesch. *Theb.* 29, probably means 'to be discussed at a night council.'

23. *συνμάχων*. Hermann's emendation is required alike by the rhythm and by the sense; without it *εὐνάς* is meaningless.

28. *Πανθοῖδαν*, Polydamas is so described (*Il.* xvi. 535) and Euphorbus (*Il.* xvii. 81).

29. *τὸν Εὐρώπας*, Sarpedon. According to Σ, Hesiod and Hellanicus likewise call him son of Europe, though Homer (*Il.* vi. 198) makes him son of Zeus and Laodamia.

31. *γυμνήτων μόναρχοι* is a strange phrase, but the allies, who formed a large part of the Trojan host, consisted of many petty tribes variously armed, each with its king. We have *Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμῶρων* (*Il.* ii. 840), *Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξους* (848) and in 846 Euphemus is *ἀρχὸς Κικόνων αἰχμητῶν*. Musgrave's *μόραρχοι* is not found elsewhere and *μόρα* occurs only as a division of the Spartan army.

33. *κερόδετος*, ἄπ. *εἰρ.* Cf. with Albert *χρυσόδετος* Soph. *El.* 837.

35. *τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ*, adverbial, 'on the one hand...on the other.'

36. *ἀλλ' ἦ*, *can it be then?* Lat. *ergo*, cf. v. 560.

Κρονίου Πανός, for sudden terror ('panic') attributed to Pan, cf. *Med.* 1172 *Πανὸς ὀργάς*, *Hipp.* 142. The epithet *Κρονίου* puzzled the ancient commentators, Pan being generally described as son of Hermes or Zeus. Of explanations given by Σ the most plausible is that the epithet is applied *παππωνυμικῶς* (from the grandfather). So Diomedes is called *Οἰνεΐδας* (v. 906), and Achilles frequently *Αἰακίδης*.

37. *φυλακάς...στρατιάν* is deleted by Dobree and most editors as an interpolation from v. 18. The repetition may well be genuine; the abandonment of their posts by the sentinels is prominent in Hector's mind.

41. *πύρ' αἴθει*. Hartung VLP have *πυραίθει* here and *πυραίθειν* in vv. 78 and 824. Such a compound would be contrary to analogy. (See on *δυσθνήσκοντος*, 791 *infra*.) *πυρά*, *watchfires*.

43. *διειπετή*, 'bright.' Paley quotes a corrupt fragment of the *Phoenix* (Nauck, 815) which as emended by Valckenaer reads *δμῶσιν δ' ἐμοῖσιν εἶπον ὡς καυστήρια | ἐς πῦρ ἔδει καὶ <ταῦτα> δὴ διειπετή | θεῖναι*. Cf. also *Bacchae* 1267 (*αἰθήρ*) *λαμπρότερος ἢ πρὶν καὶ διειπετέστερος*, where *Etym. Mag.* explains the word 'ἀντὶ τοῦ διαυ-

γέστερος.' In Homer it is used of rivers only (*Il.* xvi. 174; xvii. 263; xxi. 268, 326; *Od.* iv. 477). Schulze (*Quaest. Epicae*, p. 328) explains the Homeric use as 'Iovis opera et iussu decurrens.' In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, 4, οἰωνοὺς διυπετέας, the word is apparently connected with πέτομαι (Sikes and Allen. tr. 'flying in the heaven'). For Eur. the spelling διειπετής is probably more correct, for Διειτρεφής is found in inscriptions of the period (Meisterhans, *Gramm. Att. Inschr.* p. 50).

46, 47. νέαν ἐφιέμενοι βάζιν. For ἐφιέμενοι, 'eager for,' with acc. instead of the usual genitive, cf. Xen. *Ag.* 11. 14 οὐκ ἀπέπε μεγάλην καὶ καλήν ἐφιέμενος δόξαν. Favorinus (floruit A.D. 75) has a note, ἐφίεμαι· τὸ ἐπιθυμῶ· ἀπτικῶς αἰτιατικῇ. (*O.T.* 766 πρὸς τί τοῦτ' ἐφίεσαι; which Paley quotes, means 'why dost thou impose this command?' a very frequent use with the quasi-cognate neuter pronoun.)

βάζις (1) oracular response (2) rumour (L. and S.). Perhaps the pronouncement of the general is comparable to an oracle. But in Soph. *El.* 638, κεκρυμμένην μοῦ βάζιν, it merely signifies 'speech' and so in *Med.* 1374 πικρὰν βάζιν ἐχθαίρω σέθεν.

51. Corrected by Lindemann: cf. v. 33.

52. ἦκεις, the reading of Cod. Pan. (where the other mss. have ἦλθες) is confirmed by *Chr. Pat.* 1870, 2299, 2390.

54. ἀρεῖσθαι, Wecklein (see *crit. note*). φυγῇν, Stephanus for mss. φυγῇ here and 126; cf. αἴρονται φυγῇν Aesch. *Persae* 481, and the numerous examples collected by Elmsley on *Heracl.* 504, which show that the accusative is the correct use with αἴρεσθαι.

55. σαίνει, 'the nocturnal beacon greets me,' cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1214 παιδὸς με σαίνει φθόγγος. σαίνω is properly used of a dog wagging the tail or fawning. "So it could be said of a sight or sound appealing for recognition by vividly striking the senses. Though usually like *arridere* implying a sensation of pleasure it could also denote a recognition attended by pain." Jebb *ad loc.* who quotes also Eur. *Hipp.* 862 f. (Theseus recognises the seal on his wife's tablets), τύποι προσσαίνουσί με. In the present passage pain is likewise implied. Hector has risen from his bed and beholds the fires blazing in the camp of the foe. The sight confirms him in the hastily formed opinion that victory is slipping from his grasp.

57 ff. For the sentiment Hagenbach cf. *Il.* viii. 497 ff.

58. **σύρδην**, 'in one swoop' (Paley), adv. from **σύρω**. In Aesch. *Pers.* 54 it is used of an army advancing 'in loose order,' *tractim*. Here its meaning refers to another sense of **σύρω** (cf. *κατασύρω*, *diripio*). Hector was a **λέων**.

59. **ξυνέσχον**, 'if the bright beams of the sun *had not constrained me*,' i.e. by their setting, a strange expression. This use of **συνέχω** is an extension of the sense of actual constraint which we find e.g. in Pindar *Pyth.* 1. 19 (of Typho) **κίων οὐρανία συνέχει**. A similar sense is conveyed in the following line by the simple **ἔσχον** (cf. *El.* 852). It is possible, however, that **ξυνέσχον** has arisen by an error of the copyist and that we should read **ἔξειλεπον** with Wecklein; for such an error cf. 776 where V reads **πλάθειν στρατῶ** for **πελάζεσθαι στρατῶ**, owing to the presence of **πλάθειν** in the following line.

65. **σοφοί**, 'skilled': used of *experts* particularly in the science of augury, *Bacch.* 185 (Cadmus to Teiresias) **ἐξηγοῦ σύ μοι, σὺ γὰρ σοφός**. *Med.* 686 **σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ τρίβων τὰ τοιάδε**. In the present case the experts are anything but 'wise.'

68. **θυοσκοοί** (**θύο-σκοφός**, cf. **κοέω**, Lat. *cuneo*, English *show*) are here identified with **μάντιες** as in *Il.* XXIV. 221 **ἡ οἱ μάντιές εἰσι θυοσκοοὶ ἢ ἱερῆες**. The word is applied to the Maenads in *Bacch.* 224.

72. **ὥς ἄν**. In *Class. Rev.* XXIV. p. 143, Prof. Dobson has classified the uses of **ὥς ἄν** and **ὅπως ἄν** in the Tragedians. His conclusion is: "their proper use is to express *a purpose of the speaker*, which is capable of fulfilment in the future." The idiom recurs in the *Rhesus* vv. 420, 473, 878.

τις, 'many a one,' as often in Homer: cf. also *Hec.* 650.

αὐτῶν refers back to **οἱ δ'**, v. 68.

74. **λελημμένοι** (O Pan.). This form, not **εἰλημμένοι**, is usually found in Tragedy. Paley calls it an *Ionic* form, but the true Ionic form is **λελαμμένος** (Herod. and Hippocr.). VLP have the meaningless **λελησμένοι** from **ληίζομαι**.

75. **γαπονεῖν**, the Doric form, read here by O and Pan., is used in Tragedy, as Matthiae shows on **γάπωνος** *Suppl.* 420. In Homer the Phrygians are allies of the Trojans; in later literature they are identified with them, as here.

78. **στρατόν**. The dat. would have given an easier construction but cf. 108. For **πύρ' αἰθεῖν** see on 41.

82. ἐν τροπῇ dorós, 'in the turning back of the battle, i.e. at the moment when the battle has been turned back,' Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 1275, where the phrase recurs: cf. ἐν μάχῃ τροπῇ, Aesch. *Ag.* 1237.

85. καὶ μάλα σπουδῇ. καὶ simply emphasises μάλα, which in turn modifies σπουδῇ as if it were σπουδάων.

97. πύρσ' = πυρσά, heterogeneous plur. of πυρσός, found here only. ἐκκέαντες. This old Att. form recurs Ar. *Pax* 1133; κέαντες occurs Aesch. *Ag.* 849; Soph. *El.* 757. The Epic form is ἐκηα.

102. αἰσχρὸν...κακόν, 'dishonourable...damaging.' Nauck cf. Hor. *Od.* III. 5. 26 Flagitio additis damnum. In 756 the antithesis recurs but there κακῶς = miserably.

105 ff. For the sentiment cf. with Hagenbach *Il.* XIII. 726 ff.

105. 'Would that you were as wise as you have been active with strength of arm.' δράσας is my correction of δράσαι (sic) given by the MSS. here and in *Chr. Pat.* 2367. Most editors have followed Matthiae who retains the inf. δρᾶσαι and understands ἀγαθός or ἱκανός from εὐβουλος. As a parallel he is content to cite *Or.* 717 ὦ πλὴν γυναικὸς οὐνεκα στρατηλατεῖν | τᾶλλ' οὐδέν, "ubi ex οὐδέν subaudiendum τι." So simple an ellipse will scarcely justify the proposed interpretation of our passage, which should naturally mean 'O that thou wert wise enough to act (ὡς = ὥστε) with strength of arm.' The context seems to require a form of expression analogous to *Heracl.* 731 εἴθ' ἦσθα δυνατὸς δρᾶν ὅσον πρόθυμος εἶ. Hence various suggestions: δραστήριος, or θρασὺς χερὶ (F. W. Schmidt), δράστης χερὶ (Hartung). For the correction δράσας I submit that (1) it involves a very slight alteration of the MSS. reading, confusion between ι and σ occurring more than once in this play; e.g. for κοιμήσων which V and O rightly give in 662, L and P have κοσμήσων: (2) it accounts for the accentuation δράσαι: (3) the comparative infrequency of the construction with the participle, and the fact that the infinitive gives a sense though not the sense required, will help to explain the cause of the corruption. For such collocations of adj. and aor. part. cf. 499 ἔστι δ' αἰμυλώτατον | κρότημ' Ὀδυσσεὺς λῆμά τ' ἀρκούντως θρασὺς | καὶ πλεῖστα χώραν τήνδ' ἀνὴρ καθυβρίσας: Soph. *O.* *T.* 90 οὔτε γὰρ θρασὺς | οὔτ' οὖν προδείσας εἰμὶ τῷ γε νῦν λόγῳ: Thuc. I. 138 ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας, καὶ ἄξιος θανμάσαι.

108. The two clauses are in loose apposition to γέρας. The datives σοί and τοῖς, found *Chr. Pat.* 2370, would give an easier construction but σέ and τούς are found in all MSS. and Stobaeus, *Flor.* 54, 9.

109. ὅστις refers to ἦσθα (*v.* 105), the three intervening lines forming a kind of parenthesis.

ἐξήρθης, 'wast carried away' by the news. Menzer observes that here only do we find ἐξαίρω in a metaphorical sense without some word denoting an affection of the mind. Such a use of ἐπαίρω is however frequent.

110. φλέγειν. Musgrave (who cites ἀναφλέγω πυρὸς φῶς, *Tro.* 320), for φεύγειν (MSS.) which though retained by most editors gives an intolerable construction: 'who having heard about the torches wast carried away (by the belief) that the A. were fleeing.' ἐξήρθης followed by a clause in *oratio obliqua* would be awkward, and κλύω with acc. (=hear of a thing) apparently unexampled. The scribe's mind would be full of φυγή (*cf.* *vv.* 98, 100, 104).

111. νυκτὸς ἐν καταστάσει, 'in the quiet of the night.' F. W. Newman *cf.* use of κατέσθηκα in *Thuc.* 2. 56 ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ, 'in the settled time of life.'

112. αὐλώνων = τάφρων. Αἰσχύλος δέ φησι καὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐλῶνα *Eustathius, Il.* p. 1157, 36. So too Carcinus (p. 619 Nauck) βαθεῖαν εἰς αὐλῶνα περὶδρομον στρατοῦ (*Vater*).

115. 'If conquered, you will, I fear, return no more to yon city.' τήνδε deictic; he points towards the city on its hill two miles away. The text is that of Schaefer, which seems to account best for the MSS. readings. The scribes were confused by the *independent* use of μὴ οὐ to introduce a clause expressing apprehension that something may not happen, coupled with desire to avert the object of fear—a construction of rare occurrence. In *Tro.* 982 μὴ οὐ πείσης σοφούς, the only other example in Euripides, V and P omit οὐ, as (V) here. (On the construction see Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 264.) μόλῃς, see on ἦξω 157.

116. For the palisade in the trench *cf.* *Il.* VII. 441 ἐν δὲ (τάφρῳ) σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν. For στρατός L and P read δορός, an error due to reminiscence of *v.* 82 ἐν τροπῇ δορός.

118. 'unless indeed (*Lat. nisi forte*) after breaking the naves of the chariots.' This line has been suspected not without reason. (1) ἦν ἄρα μὴ θραύσαντες is strange for εἰ μὴ ἄρα θραύσαντες, as Paley

observes—though ἄρα=ἄρα is not infrequent, cf. *El.* 374. 1229, *Soph. El.* 1179, *O. C.* 409; (2) ἀντύγων χνόας is a doubtful collocation. ἀντυξ is properly the *outer rim* of something, a shield, a lyre, or a chariot. L. and S. cite for the signification ‘chariot’ *Phoen.* 1193; *Soph. El.* 746; *Theocr.* 2. 166, but in all of them the notion ‘chariot-rail’ is to be traced. Nor would such a passage as Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*, 140 ἀντυγες αἱ τέ σε ῥεῖα | θηητήν φορέουσι, where the notion chariot-rail has passed out of sight, justify ἀντύγων χνόας. χνόαι are the naves or boxes in which the axles turn. The expression ἀντύγων χνόας is, however, recognised in the lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria, who, according to Sandys (*Hist. Class. Schol.*), probably belongs to the fifth century A.D. Blaydes conjectured ἀξόνων for ἀντύγων. For ἀξόνων χνόαι cf. *Aesch. Theb.* 153, *Soph. El.* 745.

119. ἔφεδρος, used of a third combatant who *sat by* to fight the winner of a former combat. Lat. *supposititius*. In 954 it is used in the non-technical sense, of an army *blockading* a country.

122. πεπύργωται χερσί. Cf. *Or.* 1568 πεπύργωσαι θράσει, whence O reads θράσει for χερσί here. Tr. ‘his hand is a tower of strength.’

124. ἀρειφάτων κόπων, ‘after the toils of deadly war,’ cf. *Aesch. Eum.* 913 ἀρειφάτων ἀγώνων, *Eur. Suppl.* 603 ἀρείφατοι φόνοι. There is no reason to regard the word as synonymous with ἄρειοι, as L. and S. do, and to ignore its connection with ἔπεφνον. For other instances of verbals in -τος with active signification, see on οἶνοπλανήτοις, 360f. In Homer ἀρείφατος is passive, ‘slain in war.’

131. μεταθέμενος, Haun. Other MSS. have μετατιθέμενος *contra metrum*.

132. ‘I like not a general’s authority to be untrustworthy.’

σφαλερά, *likely to make one stumble*, cf. *Suppl.* 508 σφαλερὸν ἡγεμῶν θρασύς. κράτη, *powers*, in the widest sense. δέ frequently, as here, joins clauses causally connected where γάρ might have been expected.

134 ff. ‘What can be better than that a swiftly-journeying spy should draw near to the ships and see why the foe have watch-fires burning before their naval camp?’ The clause introduced by ὅτι depends on the verbal noun κατόπταν. With κατ’ ἀντίπρωρα, ‘in front of,’ cf. κατ’ ὄμμα 421, κατὰ στόμα 409, 491, ‘in the face of.’

ναυστάθμων, 'naval encampment,' like ναῶν σταθμά 43. The Greek ships are drawn up on the shore (146) surrounded by a trench and palisade (112, 116). With ταχυβάταν (ἄπ. εἰρημένον) Albert cf. ἀβροβάτης Aesch. *Pers.* 1072.

138. κοίμα, for κόσμει (OLP), is due to Pierson who compares 662, where V and O give κοιμήσων, as the context demands, while L and P have κοσμήσων. The present change of plan requires not the marshalling of the allies but the calming of the confusion.

143. ἐς φυγὴν with ὁρμώμενοι, as in Thuc. IV. 14. 1.

145. ὥς οὐ μενοῦντά με. The participle of a personal verb used with ὥς in an accusative absolute construction is found more often in prose, but cf. *Phoen.* 1460 ff., *Ion* 965. προσμέξω (so spelt in inscriptions of the generation after Eur.—Meisterhans, p. 51) is to be taken with ὀλκοῖσι. 'I shall approach the canals where the ships are drawn up, to attack (ἐπί) the Argive host.' νεῶν ὀλκοῖσι like ὀλκοὺς ναυστάθμων, 673 *infra*, is a periphrasis for ναυστάθμοις. ὀλκοί in both passages probably refers to 'cuttings or canals where the ships were drawn up for refuge' (Vater). It is used elsewhere of a ditch (Ap. Rhod. 1. 375), of the furrow made in the ground by a wooden log (Xen. *Cyn.* 9. 18), of the cutting made by a chisel (Ar. *Thesm.* 779). L. and S. both here and in 673 translate it 'windlasses'—a meaning it perhaps bears in Thuc. III. 15, Hdt. II. 154, 159,—but this sense seems inappropriate in 673 *infra*.

147. ἀσφαλῶς) (σφαλερά v. 132.

149. λόγῳ, 'who are present at my speech.' It is doubtful whether we should read λόγῳ with O and (V) or λόχῳ with L and P. The phrase οἱ παρόντες ἐν λόγῳ is found in Ar. *Ach.* 513, *Av.* 30. A similar use of λόγος occurs v. 641 of this play. With either reading a further question arises: whom is Hector addressing? Vater maintains that it is the chorus as there is no one present on the stage save Aeneas and Hector. Dolon, he holds, is a member of the chorus and speaks his part from among them as a παραχορήγημα. But there is no reason to assume that Hector and Aeneas are alone on the stage. In v. 2 Hector is described as sleeping with his ὑπασπισταί around him. When he comes out to address the chorus, it may reasonably be assumed that some of these are in attendance. They are represented on the stage by a few κωφὰ πρόσωπα, among whom stands the actor playing the part of Dolon.

155. **ρίψας κίνδυνον**, metaphor from dicing, cf. *Heracl.* 148, *Frag.* 402 (Nauck), and *ῥιψοκίνδυνος*, *Xen. Mem.* 1. 3. 9.

157. **ἥξω**, 'I shall be here,' *adereo*. The Greeks often use a simple verb of 'coming,' where the notion 'coming back' is implied and would be expressed in English, cf. *vv.* 115, 223, 589. **ἐπὶ τούτοις**, 'on these conditions,' i.e. his work is to be as proposed in 115, 116. The reward is not mentioned till 161.

158. **ἐπώνυμος**, *Δόλων* from *δόλος*.

160. **δὲς τόσως εὐκλέεστερον** = *διπλασίω εὐκλέεστερον* (Paley). Cf. for the comparative use *Med.* 1194 *πῦρ δ', ἐπεὶ κόμην | ἔσεισε, μάλλον δὲς τόσως ἐλάμπετο*, but there *μάλλον*, as Verrall suggests, may mean 'rather,' and perhaps here we should read with Nauck *δὲς τόσω τέθηκας*.

163. **διπλῆν**, 'a reward appointed for any work makes the favour mutual.' This rendering was suggested by C. E. Palmer, *C. R.* iv. p. 228. 'Dolon was going to bestow a favour on the Trojans and their reward would be a favour conferred on him.' He quotes *Soph. Ant.* 14 *δνοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ἐστερήθημεν δύο | μᾶ θανόντων ἡμέρα διπλῇ χερσί*.

164. **οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω**, 'I do not dissent,' as in 271, *El.* 226.

166. **πολιόχου** O, for which V reads (*contra metrum*) the correctly formed and not infrequent *πολιούχου*. But *Πολιόχος* occurs in *Athenaeus* (2, p. 60B and 7, p. 313C) as the name of a poet of new comedy. For the form cf. *ἡνίοχος*. L and P have *πολινόχου*, *much sustaining*, but cf. 381 where these MSS. give *πολύαρχον* for *πολίαρχον* (V and O).

167. **ἀλλά**, 'at any rate,' as often after a condition expressed or implied.

168. **ἐξ ἑμαυτοῦ μεζόνων γαμεῖν**. For *γαμεῖν ἐκ*, *form a marriage connected with*, cf. *Theognis* 189, 190; *γαμεῖν ἀπό* occurs *Or.* 1676, *Andr.* 975.

169. **αἰτήση**, used in reference to present time, differs little from *μέλλεις αἰτήσεσθαι* (v. Goodwin, *M. and T.* §§ 407, 408).

170. Cf. *Il.* x. 378 *ἔστι γὰρ ἔνδον | χαλκός τε χρυσός τε*.

174. **σχέσθαι** = *ἀποσχέσθαι*, which is found with the same construction as *σχέσθαι* here, in *Aesch. Suppl.* 756, *Plato Symp.* 214 D.

175. **οὐ μὴν**, 'surely you do not ask to receive...' cf. *Alc.* 518 *οὐ μὴν γυνή γ' ὄλωλεν Ἀλκηστις σέθεν; τὸν Ἰλέως* (so V), the lesser

Ajax, son of *Oileus* (as the name appears in Homer, *᾽Οϊλῆος ταχὺς Ἄϊας* *Il.* II. 527). L and P read *Οἰλέως* here.

177. *ἀποιναῖσθαι*. The active *ἀποιναῖν* is found in a law quoted by Demosthenes (*κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους* 629. 32), and appearing also in an inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Att.* I. 61). The passage refers to the treatment of a convicted homicide who has returned to Attica from exile. *τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους ἐξεῖναι ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ* (*our country*), *λυμαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ, μὴδ' ἀποιναῖν* (*amercé*). The middle use here implies 'hold to ransom.' In 466 it has the sense 'exact vengeance from.' Hesychius has *ἀποιναῖν· ἀπολυτροῦν*.

179. *καὶ μὴν* as usual introduces a new point. When this new point is concerned with a difficulty arising from the words of the last speaker *καὶ μὴν* becomes adversative (v. Jebb on *Soph. Aj.* 531). *γε* merely adds emphasis to *λαφύρων*. 'Well then, if you won't take gold you shall make choice in person from the spoils.' Cf. 184 *infra*.

180. *δόμους*, so the great preponderance of mss. Wecklein and Murray read *δόμοις*, on the authority of Harl. and an insertion in L. The dat. is idiomatic when the verb signifies motion followed by rest at or in a place (v. L. and S., *sub vb.*). For the practice of nailing spoils to the temples, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 579; Eur. *Bacchae* 1214.

183. 'Staking my life in Fortune's dice-play,' cf. *Suppl.* 330 *ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἄλλα βλήματ' ἐν κύβοις βαλεῖν | πέποιθα*: *Soph. Aj.* 1270 *τὴν σὴν προτείνων...ψυχὴν δορί*.

184. *ἀντερᾶν* (with gen. and dat.), meaning 'to be a rival in love,' does not occur again till Plutarch *de Sollertia Animalium* (2. 972 D) *οἷος ἦν [ὁ ἔρως] ὁ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος...τοῦ ἀντερῶντος Ἀριστοφάνει τῷ γραμματικῷ*. In Aesch. *Ag.* 544 it means 'love in return.' *ἀντεραστής*, a *rival in love*, is found in Plato and Aristophanes.

185f. For the Homeric description of the horses cf. *Il.* XVI. 149:

*Ξάνθον καὶ Βαλῖον τῷ ἅμα πνοιῇσι πετέσθην
τοὺς ἔτεκε Ζεφύρῳ ἀνέμῳ ἄρπυια Ποδάργη
βοσκομένη λειμῶνι παρὰ ῥόον Ὀκεανοῖο.*

For the gift of the horses to Peleus vide XXIII. 277:

*ἄθἀνατοί τε γάρ εἰσι, Ποσειδάων δ' ἔπορ' αὐτοὺς
πατρὶ ἐμῷ Πηληϊ, ὁ δ' αὐτ' ἐμοὶ ἐγγυάλιξεν.*

191. *δ' ἄν*. The insertion of *ἄν* is due to Verrall. Without

ἄν, λαβών is equivalent to εἰ ἔλαβον, whereas the sense required would be εἰ λαμβάνω, since the 'taking' and 'receiving' refer to the same act and therefore to the same moment of time and φημι δέχεσθαι is *present*. With ἄν the sentence is equivalent to λέγω ὅτι εἰ λάβοιμι δεχοίμην ἄν, both verbs referring to a contingency in the future. There is, of course, no difference of time between the aorist and present *optative*. [See Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 472.]

197. πόνος ὅδ', Nauck for πόνος δ' of the MSS. Cf. 133, the corresponding line of the strophe.

199 f. 'Let Justice see to what depends on Heaven [victory or death], but men methinks have done their part to make thy bliss complete.'

201. For the opt. with ἄν expressing a *fixed resolve*, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1108 ὦδ' ὡς ἔχω στείχοιμ' ἄν, with Jebb's note. ἐφέστιος, 'at my own hearth,' as in *Od.* III. 234 ἀπολέσθαι ἐφέστιος. The poet seems to ignore the fact that Dolon is in camp. It has been suggested by Patin (*Euripide*, II. p. 155) that Hector retires to his tent during this conversation between Dolon and the chorus.

202. For this construction with καθάπτομαι cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 19 (of a race-horse) ὁ πρὶν ὑπαὶ μίτραις κῶλα καθαψάμενος, and the use of καθαπτός and καθημμένος. Tr. 'I shall array myself in dress to suit my purpose.'

210 ff. 'And fitting to my hands the fore-feet and the hind-legs to my legs, I shall mimic the four-footed path of a wolf, not easy for a foe to trace.'

For the 'disguised Dolon' see *Intro.* § 1. Dolon's equipment has been much ridiculed by critics from the scholiast down. Musgrave, however, quotes Josephus *Bell. Jud.* III. 7. 14, for the use of this stratagem in actual warfare. Josephus there describes how, when besieged by Vespasian in Jotopata, he communicated with friends outside and obtained provisions through messengers who were instructed ἔρπειν τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς φυλάκας καὶ τὰ νῶτα καλύπτειν νάκεσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ κατίδοι τις αὐτοὺς νύκτωρ φαντασίαν παρέχοιεν κυνῶν. F. W. Newman mentions the same device as in use among the American Indians: "This trick of barbarous warfare came to the knowledge of the English Government from their American colonists. In their war with the natives several English sentinels were killed, no one knew how; until every sentinel was

ordered to fire on whatever approached him. One fired and killed a native warrior who was crawling up to him on all fours, in aspect like a large hog."

215. **δίβαμος** does not occur elsewhere but Musgrave cites Pindar *Pyth.* 9. 20 for *παλιμβάμους ὁδούς*.

216f. Similarly Medea invokes Hermes to escort Aegeus (*Med.* 759).

217. **φηλητῶν**, *cheats*. This word occurs in the *Hymn to Hermes*, 67, 292, 446, and is found in the Tragedians, Soph. *Frg.* 847 (Nauck), Aesch. *Cho.* 1001. It is probably cognate with *ἀποφώλιος* (cf. *φηλόω*, *φῆλος*), and to be connected with *σφάλλω*, Lat. *fallo*. The incorrect spelling *φιλητής* is frequently given in MSS. on the authority of grammarians who derived the word from *ὑφείλετο*.

219. For the turn of phrase, cf. 258.

223. **ἥξω**, see on 157. This speech of Dolon contains Tragic Irony of a somewhat obvious kind. He boasts that he will slay the very men who are destined to be his own destroyers.

224. At Thymbra, a town in the Troad, there was a celebrated altar of Apollo, to which reference is made in *v.* 508. Delos, the birth-place of the god, is constantly associated with Lycia; at Patara, in that country, he had an oracle. Hence Horace's *Delius et Patareus Apollo*.

226. Observe **δίᾱ** here but *δῖα* in Homer, e.g. *δῖα γυναικῶν*. The other passages in the Tragedians where the word occurs throw no light on the quantity which they gave to the final syllable.

229. **καὶ γενοῦ**. Dindorf has restored these words to their proper position. In the MSS. they have changed places with *ἀγεμών* (*v.* 230). For the form of the prayer cf. *Alc.* 223 where also Apollo is invoked: *καὶ νῦν λυτήριος ἐκ θανάτου γενοῦ*.

πομπᾶς, 'journey': for this sense cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 613 *συμμιγείς... ἀνδράσιν... τείνουσι πομπήν τὴν μακρὰν πάλιν μολεῖν*: Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 164 *καὶ ὡς τάχος ὀτρύνει με τεύχειν ναῖ πομπάν*.

232. **δέλμας**. *Φοῖβός τε κἀγὼ [Ποσειδῶν] λαῖνους πύργους πέριξ ὀρθοῖσιν ἔθεμεν κανόσιν*.—*Tro.* 5.

233. **ναυκλήρια**, 'shipyard' (Murray): apparently = *ναῶν σταθμά, ναύσταθμα*. Elsewhere only in Dem. 690 *ad fin.* and Plut. 2. 234 F. Both passages relate to Lampis of Aegina, of whom Dem. states,

μέγιστα ναυκλήρια κέκτηται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, and Plut. *ἐδόκει πλουσιώτατος εἶναι, ναυκλήρια πολλὰ ἔχων*. In these passages, however, some have taken *ναυκλήρια* to mean 'ships let out on hire.'

235. *κάμψειε*, intransitive, 'turn back to': so *Bacchae* 1225 *πάλιν δὲ κάμψας εἰς ὄρος*.

239. *δεσπότου*, Hector. *πέρθω*, in Homer only of places.

240. *τάς*: in 185 the steeds are *horses* as in Homer. The article is used for the relative pronoun by the Tragedians, only in those forms beginning with a consonant, and generally to avoid hiatus. See further on 693 *infra*.

241. *δίδωσι*. "The present is used of remote events after relatives both in Greek and Latin" (Palmer on Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 13), so *infra* vv. 502, 945.

247. *δυσάλιον* (*ήλιος*) is the reading of V and O: 'whensoever it is sunless on the sea.' Dindorf aptly cites Xen. *Cyn.* 8. 1 *ὅταν ἡ βόρειον. δυσήλιον κνέφας* is found in Aesch. *Eum.* 396. Murray reads *δυσάλιος* (qualifying *πόλις*) with L and P; but the expression is less natural. Wilamowitz stigmatises *δυσάλιον* as *absurdum Vaticanum vitium*. He would read *δυσάνιος* (*ήνια*) 'hard to guide,' a conjecture of Musgrave which occurred independently to himself.

250. *θράσος* in Eur. generally suggests the notion of *insolence*, but in *Suppl.* 609, *τόδε μοι θράσος ἀμφιβαίνει*, it means 'courageous hope,' and *θράσος*=*θάρσος* is not infrequent in Sophocles. *αἰχμά*, 'warfare': so in *Herc. Fur.* 158 *θηρῶν ἐν αἰχμῇ*, 'in warfare with wild beasts.'

252. 'Where now is the Mysian who scorns me for ally?' *πόθι* is Hoffmann's correction of *ποτί* which yields no satisfactory sense. Various explanations of the line as given in the MSS. have been proposed. Σ paraphrases, *ὁ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀτίζων πρὸς Μυσῶν ἐστίν* (i.e. is like a Mysian) *ἢ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἔσχατος καὶ οὐδενὸς λόγου ἄξιος*. He appends a long dissertation on the origin of the phrase *ἔσχατος Μυσῶν*. A second line of interpretation is adopted by Vater and Hermann who put no stop at *αἰχμῇ* and take the passage as equivalent to *ἐνεστι θράσος ἐν αἰχμῇ πρὸς ἐκείνον ὃς ἐμὴν Μυσῶν συμμαχίαν ἀτίζει*. The Mysian allies are mentioned *infra* v. 541.

254-7. 'What man of the Achaeans in the camp will the earth-treading assassin smite, as on all fours he mimics a wild beast

moving on the earth?' **πεδοστιβής**, further defined in meaning by the clause, **τετράπουν...θηρός**. **ἔχων τετράπουν μῖμον** = **ἔχων τέτταρας πόδας μίμους** ('mimic actors'). For the sense, cf. *Hec.* 1058 (of the blinded Polymestor) **τετράποδος βάσιν θηρός ὀρεστέρον τιθέμενος. ἐπὶ γᾶν**, 'over the surface of the ground.' LP have **γαίας**, **Ο γαίᾱ**, **V γαῖαν**, but a monosyllable is required to correspond with the strophe (245).

257 f. 'May he overthrow Menelaus, and slay Agamemnon and bring his head to Helen, to make her lament her evil brother-in-law.' Very similar is the phrase in *Hipp.* 753-6 **πύρθμυς ἃ ἐπόρευσας ἐμὴν ἀνασσαν...κακονυμοτάτην ὄνασιν**. The adjective **κακόγαμβρον** is equivalent to an objective genitive. The form is *ἄπ. εἰρ.*

261. **ἐπὶ πόλιν**. L and P have **πῶλον**. Hence Scaliger conjectured **μῶλον** reading **θάροςος** in the strophe (*v.* 250). For **ἐπὶ γᾶν** Dindorf wrote **ἐς γᾶν** to bring the line into exact correspondence with the strophe.

263. **στρατείαν**, Heath for MSS. **στρατιάν**, cf. 253.

266. **ἀγρώταις**, read here by V and L, is found also *Bacchae* 564. **ἀγρώσταις**, the usual tragic form, is given here by O and P, and occurs *infra* 287. For the double dat. cf. *Med.* 992 **παισὶν ὄλεθρον βιοτᾷ προσάγεις**.

267 f. 'For, while your lord is still in arms, you are come, it seems, to bring him tidings of his flocks—in this unfitting place.'

268. **ἀγγελῶν ποίμνας**: for **ἀγγέλλω**, *to bring news of*, cf. *Od.* XIV. 122 **οὗ τις κείνον ἀνὴρ...ἀγγέλλων πείσειε γυναῖκα**. This Homeric construction is perhaps not found elsewhere in Tragedy.

270. **γεγωνεῖν**, a word of the grand style used here no doubt with a certain irony. **σ(έ)** is subject of **γεγωνεῖν** and **ποίμνια** acc. of closer definition after **εὐτυχοῦντα**. **οἶ**, owing to the idea of motion implied in **γεγωνεῖν**.

273. **προσαυλείους τύχας**, 'the fortunes of the fold.' The adj. is not found elsewhere.

274. **πρὸ χειρῶν**, cf. *I.A.* 36 **δέλτον τε γράφεις τήνδ' ἦν πρὸ χειρῶν ἔτι βαστάξεις**. *Trö.* 1207 **πρὸ χειρῶν φέρουσι κόσμον**. In these passages the phrase is used of material things 'visible in the hands'; here it is partly metaphorical. *Tr.* 'we bear with us the burden of battles and spears.'

δόρη for **δόρατα**, not elsewhere in Tragedy, though the dat. **δόρει** is sometimes found. Bergk, however, cites a fragment of the **Καπηλίδες** of Theopompus, a writer of old comedy, **ἐλεφαντοκώπους ξιφομαχαίρας καὶ δόρη** (Kock, I. p. 739).

276. **ἀλκῆς** (L and P), as somewhat the more difficult reading, is to be preferred to **ἀρχῆς** (V and O). The fundamental sense of the word is *fighting power* or *force*. Its use here in the sense 'a force' approximates closely to its signification in several passages of Plutarch, e.g. *Cimon* 5, where **ἱππικὴ ἀλκή** is opposed to **ναύμαχοι ἄνδρες**.

στρατηλατῶν, elsewhere with dat. except *H. F.* 61 where it takes gen. as here.

280 f. 'You tell of Rhesus setting foot in Troy?' 'You know my message.' The Greeks frequently used the aorist of action just completed, where in English the present is idiomatic.

285. **ῥορφυη**. This reading was derived by Vater from a corrupt line (2096) in *Chr. Pat.* **μορφῇ γὰρ οὔτι φαῦλον ἐσβαλεῖν τινά. νυκτός**, the reading of the mss., may have been originally a gloss on **ῥορφυη**, which occurs *infra* 570, 587.

οὐ φαῦλον (ἐστί), 'tis no light matter to... cf. *El.* 760.

288. **αὐτόρριζον ἐστίαν χθονός**, 'our country's primeval habitation,' cf. (with Barnes) *Il.* XX. 216 ...**ἐπεὶ οὐπω Ἴλιος ἱρὴ | ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, | ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾤκεον πολυπίδακος Ἰδῆς**. The inhabitants of an **αὐτόρριζος ἐστία** would be **αὐτόχθονες**.

It would be also possible, as suggested by Mr J. T. Sheppard, *C. R.* XXVIII. p. 87, to translate 'the rustics who inhabit a dwelling in the earth not made with hands,' i.e. a mountain cave; **ἐστία** = **οἶκος** as often in Trag. Mr Sheppard quotes Hesych. (Nauck, *Adesp.* 201) **αὐτόχθων ἐστία· ἡ τοῦ Χείρωνος παρ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διήγεν**.

290. **ρέων στρατός**, 'streaming on,' cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 80 **ρεῖ πολὺς λεώς**; Eur. Frag. 146 (Nauck) **πᾶς δὲ ποιμένων ἔρρει λεώς**.

294. **πρίν** with the indicative (= *until*) is found seven times in Eur., all the instances being affirmative statements (cf. *v.* 568 *infra*). In prose the construction is regularly used only to denote a definite past action after a negative. (Goodwin, *M. and T.* §§ 633, 634.)

οὐχ Ἑλληνικὴν. In this play, as in Homer, there is no distinction

suggested between the speech of the Greeks and the Trojans. Euripides, knowing that Greek was not the language of the Thracians of his day, introduced the 'Thracian speech' as a touch of realism, regardless of Epic convention. In Homer the only people whose linguistic peculiarities are noticed are the *Kâres βαρβαρόφωνοι*.

295. *ἔδεξάμεσθα*, 'caught': *Bacchae* 1086 *ἤχην οὐ σαφῶς δεδεγμέναι*: *El.* 110 *ἔξώμεσθα... ἣν τι δεξώμεσθ' ἔπος*. This meaning is distinguished by Verrall from the meaning 'accept,' 'hearken to,' which is found in *Med.* 175; also *supra* v. 4.

296. *ἄνακτος*. Objection has been taken to this word, as the shepherd had not yet learnt that it was the army of Rhesus, but the word may be used generally of any lord or leader. Wecklein conjectures *ἀν' αὐτοῦς*. *προυξερευνητής*, *ἄπ. εἰρ.*, but *προυξερευνάω* is found (*Phoc.* 92).

302. I give the reading of L and P. Murray cites in support *Il.* xi. 198 *ἑσταότ' ἐν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι κολλητοῖσι*. V and O have *ἐν ἱππέοισι Θρηκίοις ὄχοις*.

303. *πλάστιγξ*. "Properly the *scale*, then the *beam* of the balance and hence (from the similarity of shape) the yoke fastened across the necks of the beasts. When the yoke is unused it hangs suspended from the pole and at once suggests a pair of scales," Paley. Similarly *ζυγόν* from meaning a *yoke* or *crossbar* came to mean *the beam of a balance* (Aesch. *Suppl.* 822 *ζυγόν ταλάντου*) and then *the balance itself* (Plato *Rep.* 550 E *ἐν πλάστιγγι ζυγοῦ*).

For the description of Rhesus' chariot cf. *Il.* x. 439 ff. *ἄρμα δέ οἱ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ εὖ ἥσκηται | τεύχεα δὲ χρύσεια, πελώρια, θαῦμα ιδέσθαι, | ἦλυσθ' ἔχων*.

304. *ἔξανγεστέρων*, here only: *εὐαγής* with the same sense 'bright,' 'splendid' is frequent and appears as *εὐανγής* in the newly discovered fragments of Pindar.

305. *πέλτη*, the national equipment of the Thracians, cf. *Alceste* 498 *σαχρύσου Θρηκίας πέλτης ἀναξ*. The aegis of Athene mentioned in the next line was figured in works of art as a goat-skin with the Gorgon's head fixed in the centre.

308. Apparently imitated from Aesch. *Theb.* 385 f. *ὕπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ | χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον*.

309 f. 'The full number of the host you could not set down, even by tale of pebble, so monstrous was it.' The reference is to

the use of the counting-board or abacus (ἀβάκιον) divided into columns for units, tens, etc., on which children learnt arithmetic, and which even adults used for calculation (λογισμός). This method is contrasted with rough calculation ἀπὸ χειρός. The sense is 'not even all your arithmetic would enable you to tell the tale of a host whose number exceeds what sense can grasp.' Cf. Milton's 'numbers without number.' The shepherd merely wants to say that the host was immeasurable.

For θέσθαι, *set down*, cf. *Med.* 532 οὐκ ἀκριβῶς αὐτὸ θήσομαι λίαν. δύναι' ἄν V and O, δυναίμην L and P. ἄπλᾱτον (ἀπέλαστον), *lit.* 'unapproachable,' generally implies something portentous, e.g. ἄπλατον θρέμμα (*Soph. Tr.* 1093) of the Nemean lion; ἄπλατος κοίτη, the tomb (*Med.* 151). Here it means *too great for sense to grasp*. For this meaning Vater cites Arcestratus (*Fr.* 59 Ri.), a writer of the fourth century B.C., who comments on the fragrance of Phoenician wine: ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτο χρόνον διὰ μῆκος ἄπλατον.

317. 'Whosoever the gods stand firm for the city.' εὐσταθεῖν does not occur elsewhere in Tragedy but is found in a similar sense in Plutarch; cf. εὐσταθής, εὐστάθεια.

318. κατάντης. The metaphor, as C. E. Palmer suggested, may be derived from the scales of a balance. κατάντης is unknown elsewhere in Tragedy, though προσάντης, of persons and things, occurs several times.

322 f. ξυμπονοῦσιν, see on 241. ἡνίκα...πνέων, 'when the wrecking storm of war with violent blast was tearing asunder the canvas of our ship of state.' ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι, violent winds that drive ships out of their course; *Hdt.* 2. 113 καὶ μιν ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος. The verb in the same connection appears in *Cycl.* 278 σὴν γαῖαν ἐξωσθέντες ἤκομεν.

327. ἐπίμοφος, here only with active signification, cf. (with Albert) ἐπίφθορος active in *Aesch. Ag.* 135, passive in 921 of the same play, and *infra* 334.

333-338. The transposition of verses, as in text, and re-arrangement of speakers are due to Nauck. [For the variations in the mss. see *crit. not.*]

333. μισῶ ὕστερον βοηδρομεῖν, 'I hate one who comes too late to help his friends.' βοηδρομεῖν depends on ὕστερον.

336. 'Howbeit since he *came*, though not to be our ally but our

guest, let him *be with us* at the table of the guests.' $\delta\delta'$ οὖν, not $\delta\delta'$ οὖν (as given in the mss.), is idiomatic here; Paley cites *Alc.* 73; Aesch. *Prom.* 935. The difference in significance between ἡλθε and ἡκέτω is to be noted. Hector concedes that Rhesus at least made the journey. The clause σύμμαχος μὲν οὖ, ξένος δέ is to be taken with ἡλθε: cf. 325.

339. **καιρίως σκοπεῖς** is generally taken to mean 'view the matter in a proper light' (Paley), but C. E. Palmer, *C. R.* IV. p. 228 f., suggests that the meaning is 'you keep an opportune look-out'—by so carefully observing Rhesus and the numerous army of allies.

340 f. 'And let the lord of the golden armour, as the messenger describes him, be present as the ally of this land.' οὐνεκ' ἀγγέλου λόγων, lit. 'so far as the messenger's words go.' Hector is pleased to be sarcastic. For examples of this meaning of the preposition see L. and S., *sub vb.* ἔνεκα II. 2. For οὐνεκα as a preposition see on 660 *infra*. **παρέστω** (L and P) is obviously superior to **πάρεσται** (V and O), which however was read by Σ who comments: ἐπεὶ καλῶς παρήγεσεν ὁ ἄγγελος τὸν Ῥῆσον εἰς συμμαχίαν δέχεσθαι, λοιπὸν ἥξει. **χρυσοτευχής**, ἄπ. εἰρ., but cf. (with Albert) **χρυσοφεγγής** Aesch. *Ag.* 288.

342. Adrasteia is invoked with special propriety. Though joined with Nemesis as a goddess who punishes boastful words, she was originally a Trojan mountain deity with a shrine and altar at Cyzicus. Her Phrygian origin is recognised by Aeschylus (*Frg.* 158). It was at Athens that she became associated with the Rhamnusian Nemesis, herself in one aspect a goddess of the wilds and connected with Artemis. For this association cf. Menander (*Frg. Com. Att.* III. p. 93 Koch): Ἀδράστεια καὶ | θεὰ σκυθρωπὴ Νέμεσι, συγγιγνώσκειτε. The two appear as judges of the dead; the association being no doubt aided by the popular derivation of the name Ἀδράστεια from ἀ and διδράσκω, *the Inevitable One*. Adrasteia is invoked here that no harm may come of the glorification of Rhesus whose praise the chorus is about to sing. For similar appeals to her *v.* *infra* 468, Aesch. *Prom.* 936; Plato *Rep.* 451 A.

The poet, according to Σ, differs from the usual mythology in making Adrasteia *daughter* of Zeus. She is generally described as the nurse of the infant god.

347. 'Thou art come, thou hast approached the hall where rules

the Friendly God.' **Φιλίου**, L and P; **Φρυγίαν**, V and O, which may have arisen from a gloss inserted by some one who misunderstood the use of **Φιλίου**. For **Φίλιος**, the Friendly God, generally identified with Zeus, cf. Ar. *Ach.* 730, *νῆ τὸν Φίλιον*: Eur. *Andr.* 603 (of Helen) *ἥτις ἐκ δόμων | τὸν σὸν λιποῦσα Φίλιον ἐξεκώμασε*. The worship of the Friendly God is described in Harrison, *Proleg. Gk. Rel.* pp. 357, 358.

349. **καλλιγέφυρος**. *ἄπ. εἰρ.* Albert cf. **καλλιπρωρος** Aesch. *Ag.* 235.

351 ff. 'Strymon who once, eddying in liquid guise thro' the virgin body of the muse, begat thy manly form.' **σὰν ἦβαν**, a periphrasis like **βία** *Ἡρακλέους* and *ἀλκὴ Αἴαντος* (Pind. *Isth.* 4. 35).

355. **φαναῖος**. This epithet is applied to Zeus here only. It is quoted in Hesychius from Achaeus in reference to Apollo, but as Strabo (XIV. p. 645) speaks of a temple of Apollo at Phanae in Chios, we may in that connection understand it as a local surname. In the present passage it may bear the meaning 'the revealed one' (= *ἐπιφανής*) as Farnell (*Cults of Gk. States*, vol. IV. p. 138, note c) suggests. It is generally, however, connected with *φανή* and explained 'the light-bringer,' i.e. 'deliverer.' Cf. Zacher, *Diss. Phil. Hal.* 3 (1878), 255.

356. **βαλιαῖς**, 'dappled.' Σ desirous to save the poet from inconsistency (cf. *vv.* 304, 618) explains *ἀντὶ τοῦ ταχείαις*. There is however no authority for this meaning except in late authors who employ **βαλιός** as an epithet of *winds*.

359. 'Thou canst name Zeus the Deliverer,' i.e. call Rhesus by this title. The Greeks after the Persian war erected an altar to Zeus Eleutherios, for which Simonides composed his famous epigram.

360 ff. 'Shall ancient Troy ever again fill all the day with bands of boon-companions 'mid melodies of love and contests of the flowing cups, that send the wine a-wandering, when over the sea to Sparta the Atreidae are gone from the Ilian shore?'

361. **τούς**, implying that revel-bands were a customary feature in the celebration of victory. **παναμερεύσει**. For vbs. in -εύω used transitively cf. *infra* 434 *ὀμηρεύσας τέκνα*, Or. 405 *ὃς σὸν ὥρβευεν δέμας*.

362 f. **ἑρώτων ψαλμοῖσι** are best taken together, though

Matthiae joins *θάσους ἐρώτων* = *bands of lovers*. *ψαλμοῖσι*, Canter for MSS. *ψάλμασι* (cf. v. 373). *οἶνοπλανήτοις*. For the active use of the verbal cf. *ἄψαντος* (Soph. *O. T.* 969), *μεμπτός* *Trach.* 446. Σ explains it 'bewildering (*παραγούσαις τὸν νοῦν*) with wine,' but perhaps the true sense is 'making the wine to wander.' The cups pass quickly as people challenge one another (cf. *προπότας*, 361): we are reminded of Lovelace's 'When flowing cups run swiftly round.' The form *οἶνοπλάνητος* is *ἄπ. εἰρ.*

364. *ὑποδεξίαις*, *capacious*, if correct, is applied by hypallage (so Σ) to *ἀμίλλαις* instead of to *κυλίκων*. It is found also in Hdt. 7. 49, *λιμένων ὑποδεξίων*, where however Valckenaer read *ὑποδεξιμῶν*; and L. Dindorf would substitute here *ἐπιδεξίους*, *from left to right*, the auspicious direction for serving wine (v. L. and S.). But Suidas and Photius recognise *ὑποδέξιος* which they gloss *ὑποδοχεύς*.

372 f. 'raising it aslant along the chariot's branching rail' (E. P. Coleridge). Wilamowitz remarks, 'ἄντυξ cur *σχιστή* vocetur sciunt qui vascula picta non contemnunt': see chariot figured in Seyffert, *Dict. Class. Ant.* *πώλους*, Reiske, for the unmeaning *κώλοις* of L and P. The words *πώλους ἐρεθίζων* are omitted in V. Hence Σ explains *ἄντυξ* of the rim of the shield.

374. *δίβολον ἄκοντα*, 'a two-pronged javelin.' Vater refers to a schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* VI. 52 f.: ὥστε μιᾷ βολῇ δισὰ τὰ τραύματ' ἀπεργάζεσθαι. He cites also the *ἀμφώβολοι* (two-pronged forks) mentioned *Andr.* 1133. According to Verrall the *διπλὴ μάστιξ τὴν Ἀρῆς φιλεῖ, δίλογχον ἄτην* (Aesch. *Ag.* 642) was the same as the *δίβολος ἄκων* here.

378 f. 'But now slain by a doom from Thrace, a welcome burden, this soil shall bear him.' *καπφθίμενον*, Musgrave for *καταφθίμενον* which MSS. give *contra metrum*. So *καπφθιμένης* is restored in *El.* 1299, and *καπφθιμένον* *Suppl.* 984.

381. *πολιάρχον ἰδεῖν*, 'of royal mien.' Paley cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 644 *ἄνδρα τευχιστὴν ἰδεῖν*.

383. 'Hear too the challenge of the clashing bells, ringing out from the shield-straps,' *πορπάκων*. It is to be remembered that the shield described was a *πέλτη*, differing from the *ἀσπίς* by its smaller size and lightness. It had no *ἄντυξ* and was probably quadrangular. The *πόρπαξ* was a strap running round the shield at a slight distance from the edge, arranged to form a series of loops and fastened at

intervals to the shield by pins (πόρπαι). The warrior, having first slipped his forearm through the ὄχανον or handle, a bar running down the middle of the shield, grasped with his hand one of the loops of the πόρπαξ. The plural for the strap of a single shield, which occurs here only, is perhaps employed to draw attention to the separate loops to which the bells were attached. [V. Smith, *Dict. Antiq. sub vbb.* clypeus, pelta.] For the bells cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 386; the Trojans carried bells also; for Sophocles, *Frsg.* 775 (Nauck), calls them σύν σάκει κωδωνοκρότῳ παλαισταί.

387. καταπλεῖ, Verrall. καταπνεῖ, LPVO. If καταπνεῖ be correct it means 'breathes upon'; a not very satisfactory sense. Editors quote ὁδμὴ θεόσυντος (*Prom.* 115), θεῖον ὁδμῆς πνεῦμα (*Hērō.* 1391) to illustrate the notion that divine beings left a fragrance behind them; but (1) Rhesus is called divine only by way of flattery, (2) there is no word in the context to suggest the notion of fragrance or perfume. Moreover, καταπνεῖ should take a genitive. The parallel passage (*Med.* 856 ff.) is generally given thus:

ἐπὶ Κηφισοῦ ῥοαῖς
τὰν Κύπριν κλήζουσιν ἀφυσσαμέναν
χώραν καταπνεῦσαι μετρίας ἀνέμων
ἡδυπνόους αὔρας.

In commenting on these verses Verrall argues that in both passages forms from καταπλέω should be read. Though not found in our extant tragedies it is frequent in the best prose in the sense 'disembark on' which is just the sense required here. Only a very prosaic critic would object to the chorus singing, 'A very god, the War-God himself, offspring of the Strymon and a minstrel muse, is come, O Troy, and lands on thy shore,' on the ground that Rhesus had already landed and was completing the journey in his chariot. If the muse can say of Rhesus (*v.* 934) *Τροίας ἀπηγύδων ἄστρῳ μὴ κέλσαι ποτέ*, though *Τροίας ἄστρῳ* is some miles from the sea, there can be no impropriety in the use of καταπλεῖν here.

388f. For the form of address cf. Milton's 'Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son.' παλαιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ: 'It is late in the day that I address you' or, as we sometimes say, 'at the eleventh hour.' The 'day' is a period during which his presence might have been expected. It would be difficult I think to find an exact parallel

to this use of the words. The use in Soph. *Ajax* 623 is not analogous, as they are there employed of the old age of a person.

390. **χαίρω** with participial construction in the accusative, as in Eur. *Hipp.* 1340, Soph. *Ajax* 136; cf. also *Phil.* 1314, ἡσθην πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν εὐλογοῦντά σε.

395. **διπλοῦς**, 'subtle,' a Platonic sense, not found elsewhere in Tragedy. Horace (as Bentley observed) was translating the Greek word when he wrote, 'cursus *duplicis* per mare Ulixei.'

399. **λέξεις**. The future is used to express a concession, 'you cannot say' (Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 69).

401. **γερονσία**, a council of elders, generally as forming a deliberative assembly (Senate), here as forming an embassy (cf. 936), for which elsewhere *πρεσβεία* occurs.

404. **ἐγγενής**, i.e. belonging to a tribe with which the Trojans claimed kinship, as may be inferred from the rest of the line. Rhesus was not personally a kinsman of Hector, or of any of the Trojans (cf. 904, 5).

405. **προύπιες**. From the custom of the host presenting to his guest the goblet in which he had drunk his health the verb came to mean 'give away,' 'betray.' (For the various meanings see exx. in L. and S.)

410. **πέλτη** for a line of *πέλτασται*: so again in 487; cf. use of *δόρυ*, v. 20.

411. 'Thou hast spurned the great debt of gratitude due for these services.'

413. **ἐγγενείς**. It is not necessary to alter this to *ἐν γένει* as is done by Valckenaer and most editors since, who quote for that idiom *Alc.* 904 ἐμοί τις ἦν ἐν γένει: Soph. *O. T.* 1016: Dem. p. 1160 *ad fin.* But *ἐγγενής* in the same sense is perfectly correct, cf. *O. C.* 1167 ὅρα κατ' Ἄργος εἴ τις ὑμῖν ἐγγενής.

415. **πίστις**, *proof of loyalty*: similarly *Hipp.* 1037 ὅρκους παρασχών, πίστιν οὐ σμικρὰν, θεῶν.

417. **δίψιον πῦρ θεοῦ**, 'the sun-god's thirsty flame.' The epithet *δίψιον* as applied to the sun has been objected to, but if the earth may be called *thirsty* because it absorbs moisture (*διψία κόνις* Aesch. *Ag.* 495) there is no reason why the process of evaporation may not be represented under the same metaphor. **ἄησις**, ἄπ. *εἶρ.*; Albert cf. ἄημα Aesch. *Eum.* 906; Soph. *Aj.* 674.

418. 'Not on couches, pledging in many a bumper, like you.' ἄμυστιν (ἀ, μύω) a long draught taken without drawing breath, cf. *Cycl.* 417 ἐδέξατ' ἔσπασέν τ' ἄμυστιν ἐλκύσας. This method of drinking was a notorious Thracian custom. *Hor. Od.* 1. 36. 13, Neu multi Damalis meri | Bassum Threicia vincat amystide.

419. δεξιούμενοι. This word meaning 'to use the right hand in greeting' has two constructions, δεξιοῦσθαί τινα and δεξιοῦσθαί τινι. From these were developed more general significations: (1) to greet, as δεξιοῦσθαί τινα λόγοις, (2) to employ in greeting, δεξιοῦσθαί (τινί) τι as here.

420. ὥς ἄν, see on 72.

425. πρὸς ἡπαρ, with ἐτειρόμην, cf. *Aesch. Ag.* 432, πολλὰ θιγγάνει πρὸς ἡπαρ.

427. νόστον, ἀπλῶς τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ τὸν πλοῦν, Σ, for which use cf. *Soph. Phil.* 43; *Eur. Iph. Aul.* 1261.

428. ἀφικόμην, English requires the more exact ppf., 'I had arrived.'

430. πέλανος, of liquid blood as in *Aesch. Eum.* 265, ἀπὸ ζῶντος ῥοφεῖν ἐρυθρὸν ἐκ μελέων πέλανον, *Pers.* 816 πέλανος αἵματο-σταγής.

434. ὁμηρεύσας, 'having made their children hostages,' here only transitive in tragedy, unless it is to be so explained *Bacch.* 297. Of the proper sense of the verb 'to be a hostage' there are several exx. in prose. For trans. use of verbs in -εύω cf. *supra* 361.

436. 'I am here: by ship I crossed the mouth of the Sea (the Pontus) and by land have crossed the remaining frontiers of the country.' The aor. part. denotes that the sea-voyage was completed prior to the arrival; the present that the act of crossing the remaining frontiers is regarded as simultaneous with the arrival.

πόντιον στόμα, the Thracian Bosphorus, cf. the reference to the Euxine *v.* 428. In describing the route taken by Rhesus the poet is probably following the legend to which *Suidas* alludes in his note: 'Ρῆσος στρατηγὸς Βυζαντίων. ἦλθεν εἰς συμμαχίαν τῶν Τρώων.

438. The full construction would be οὐ (ποιῶν) ὥς σὺ κομπεῖς (ὅς κομπεῖς) τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμύστιδας. Cf. *Bacchae* 686 f.:—

αἶ δ' ἐν δρυὸς φύλλοισι πρὸς πέδῳ κᾶρα
εἰκῇ βαλοῦσαι σωφρόνως, οὐχ ὥς σὺ φῆς
ῥῶνυμένας κρατῆρι καὶ λωτοῦ ψόφῳ
θηρᾶν καθ' Ἑλλην Κύπριν ἡρημωμένας.

κομπέω, from meaning 'to make a noise' when used metaphorically generally implies 'to boast.' But it can just as well signify a loud and bitter complaint as here. Hector could not 'boast' of Rhesus' drinking habits. Similarly in *v.* 875 f. οὐ γὰρ ἐς σὲ τείνεται | γλῶσσ', ὥς σὺ κομπεῖς, Hector could not *boast* but might well *complain* that a charge of assassination had been made against him. So too in *Or.* 571 Orestes, defending himself for having slain Clytemnestra, on the ground that her murder of Agamemnon, if unpunished, would encourage other wives to act similarly, adds δράσας δ' ἐγὼ | δέιν', ὥς σὺ κομπεῖς, τόνδ' ἔπαυσα τὸν νόμον. Tyndareus had not *boasted* but he had *complained* of Orestes' act. This sense is not given in L. and S.

440 ff. 'But such frozen blasts as vexed the Thracian Pontus and the Paeonians I know that I endured in this cloak through many a sleepless night.' Πόντον Θρήκιον 'the Euxine' to which the name πόντος was specially applied. The epithet *Thracian* is unusual in this connection but 'Thracian Bosphorus' is familiar. The Paeonians no doubt formed part of Rhesus' army. So Murray, who tr. 'I have borne my nights of winter storm that starred | The Euxine into ice and scared the strong | Paeonians.' Dr Way's 'Paeonian steppes and Thracian sea,' as a glance at an atlas will show, are irrelevant here.

441. κρυσταλλόπηκτα: with a similar looseness of expression we speak of 'frozen blasts.' ἐπεζάρει. Canter introduced this Arcadian form (found in *Phoen.* 45) of ἐπεβάρει for the meaningless ἐπεζάτει of the MSS.

442. πορπάμασιν, a cloak. The Attic writers employ the plural and the Doric form. The correction is due to Porson.

445. ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας. Lat. *diem de die*. The phrase is found also in Hellenichus (a writer of Middle Comedy) 5. 13 [Kock II. p. 434].

446. πίπτεις, 'you lose; and the stake is your warfare with the Argives.' For πίπτω metaphorically cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 794, πέπτωκε κομπάσματα. κυβεύων transitive, *staking*, as in *Anth. Pal.* XII. 47, τοῦ μὲν πνεῦμ' ἐκύβευσεν Ἑρως: *Id.* VII. 427, τὸ κυβευθὲν πνεῦμα. It is quite possible however that we should read with Sellier ῥίπτεις, 'you risk on a gambler's throw your warfare with the Argives.' κυβεύων would then be intransitive, as usual. For the phrase ῥίπτεις... *Αρη* cf. 155, ῥίψας κίνδυνον, and note.

449. **θατέρα**, sc. *ἡμέρα* from *φῶς ἡλίου*.

451. **ἄρηται**, L. Dindorf. The *aor.* subj. is required in particular prohibitions.

459. **νάιον δόρυ**, 'ship'; cf. Pindar's *εἰνάλιον δόρυ*; so frequently *δόρυ* alone.

460-466. In the arrangement of these lines I have followed Schroeder, who, for the sake of the rhythm (cf. antistrophe 826-833), changes the mss. order in 460 (with Nauck) and 462; inserting (with Dindorf) *ἔτ'* after *τόδ'* in 464, and *σᾶ* after *ἀποινάσαιο* in 466.

In 465 **ὄτῳ** for *ὅπως* is due to Musgrave. **ἀποινάσαιο**. See on 177. The opt. is due to attraction to the mood of *εἰσίδοιμι*. **πολυφόνου χειρός**, gen. of price, cf. 192, 467.

468. **Ἀδραστέα**: see on 342.

469. **ἐπεὶ δ' ἄν** (V. has *ἐπεὶ δ' ἄν δ'*). Most editors read *ἐπειδᾷν* here and in Aesch. *Sept.* 734, but the short final syllable is unlikely (*ἐπειδᾷν* = *ἐπειδῆ* + *ἄν*), although assumed without discussion by Kühner-Blass (*Ausf. Gr. d. Gr. Sprache*, I. § 51, 5 g).

477. **νομόν**, 'region,' cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 33, who uses the word of Rhodes.

480. 'Aye, and we scorn them not; but have a surfeit of them' (lit. plunge into a surfeit); **ἄδην** is really acc. of a subst. *ἄδη*, *satiety*, used in a local sense with *ἐλαύνω*. For the intr. *ἐλαύνω* in metaphorical sense, cf. Tyrtaeus 11. 9, *καὶ πρὸς φευγόντων τε διωκόντων τ' ἐγένεσθε*, | *ὦ νέοι, ἀμφοτέρων δ' εἰς κόρον ἤλασατε*: Solon *ap.* Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 5. 3, *οἱ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐς κόρον ἤλασατε*.

The phrase *ἄδην ἐλαύνειν* is found three times in Homer in the sense *give a surfeit of*, lit. *drive into satiety of* (*Il.* XIX. 423, XIII. 315, *Od.* v. 290). Hence Hartung emends the present passage to *ἄδην ἐλαύνομαι*, lit. 'I am driven into satiety of them.'

Vater following Σ retains *ἐλαύνομεν* but explains it differently. *Od.* v. 290, *ἀλλ' ἔτι μὲν μὴν φημι ἄδην ἐλάαν κακότητος*, which is generally translated 'I say that I will give him his fill of calamity,' is explained in a scholium 'I say that he will *repel* calamity *ad nauseam*.' Hence Vater would translate the present passage *cum nostro taedio repulsamus (hostes)*. Σ in the same sense paraphrases *πάντα κινούμεν πρὸς τὸ ἀποστῆσαι αὐτούς*.

481. For the perfect in apodosis where the protasis refers to the

future cf. Soph. *Phil.* 75, Xen. *An.* 1. 8. 12. L and P read *εἰργάσμεθ' ἄν*. The condition would then be 'an unfulfilled condition referring to the past,' and hence unsuitable to the context.

483, 4. A play on the words *ἀρκεῖν* and *ἄρχω* appears to be intended.

485. 'But either to form a left wing or a right, or in the midst of the allies you may plant your peltasts and station your host.' *πέλτην*, a line of *πελτασταί*. So *supra* 410. *τὰς πέλτας· τουτέστιν τοὺς σοὺς ὑπηκόους*, Σ. The option refers only to the position to be occupied by the Thracians *in battle*. Their place in the camp is described *infra* 519 f.

492. 'Against him thou canst not point thy furious spear.' *ἐντάξαι δόρυ*, to put one's spear in the way of one's opponent; only here in this sense. Cf. the use of *ἐνστάτης* Soph. *Aj.* 104, 'Ὀδυσσεά, τὸν σὸν ἐνστάτην λέγω (where Jebb explains it as lit. *one who stands in the way*) and of *ἐνστήναι* in Lysias, *Or.* 3 § 8 (cited by Jebb) *εὐθύς με τύπτειν ἐπεχείρησεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτὸν ἡμυνάμην ἐνστάς*,... *when I stood up and repelled him*.

C. E. Palmer (*C. R.* vol. iv. p. 228 f.) would translate the line 'it is not possible for him (Achilles) to interpose his furious spear,' urging that this translation is required by the answer of Rhesus (493) 'Well, the story was that he *had* sailed...', but *οὐκ ἔστ' ἐκείνω* would be strangely used in reference to an act which depended on the will of the person concerned.

493. For the significance of *καὶ μὴν...γε* see on 179 *supra*.

494. *μηνίων*. The short penult. in pres. and impf. is generally found in Homer and occurs also in *Hipp.* 1146 (a lyrical passage).

498 ff. 'And there is Odysseus, one mass of cunning, who is both bold enough in spirit and hath done this land more hurt than any man.' With *αἰμυλώτατον κρότημα* cf. Soph. *Frg.* 827 (Nauck) *πάνσοφον κρότημα Λαέρτου γόνος*. *κροτέω*, *hammer*, then *weld together*, is itself used figuratively Theocr. 15. 49, *ἐξ ἀπάτας κεκροτημένοι ἄνδρες*. For the collocation of participle and adj. with *εἰμί* see note on 105. *πλεῖστ' ἀνὴρ καθυβρίσας*. Jebb, on *O. C.* 563, holds that *ἀνὴρ* in this idiom requires the addition of *εἰς* (cf. *infra* 946). But in *Hec.* 310 the mss. give *θανῶν ὑπὲρ γῆς Ἑλλάδος κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ*, and Jebb is reduced to the dangerous expedient of emending the line to *κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ εἰς Ἑλλάδος θανῶν ὑπερ*. In the present

line it has been proposed to substitute *εἰς* for *καί* (Hermann) or for *τήνδ'* (Boissonade).

501. *σηκόν* of the temple of a divinity, cf. *Phoen.* 1751, *Suppl.* 30. The theft of the Palladium is properly, as Σ observes, a later incident in the cycle of Trojan legend than the slaughter of Rhesus. The description of Odysseus as midnight marauder provides a touch of tragic irony for the spectator who thinks of Rhesus' coming doom.

508. *ἄστεως* (LP) not *ἄστεος* (other MSS.) is the correct tragic form. See L. and S. *sub vb.*

509. *μερμέρῳ*, in Hom. always applied to deeds of war, in which connection it occurs three times in *Il.* x. with sense 'baleful,' 'grievous,' i.e. *causing μέριμνα*. Here in its application to Odysseus the sense is probably the same.

514. *ἀμπείρας* = *ἀναπείρας*. This word is not found elsewhere in Tragedy, though it occurs in Homer, Hdt., and Ar. *Ach.* 1007; the form *ἀμ-* for *ἀνα-* before a labial is, as Eysert shows, frequent in all the Tragedians. Cf. for Eur., in trimeter passages, *Bacchae* 1107 *ἀμβάτην*, *I. T.* 92 *ἀμπνοάς*, *El.* 868 *ἀμπτυχαί*.

515. *θoinatḗριον*, ἄπ. *είρ.*, Rolfe cf. *θoinatḗρ* Aesch. *Ag.* 1502.

520. *νυχεύσαι*, *pass the night*; so in *El.* 181 ff., *δάκρυσιν νυχεύω*, *δακρῶν δέ μοι μέλει δειλαία τὸ κατ' ἡμᾶρ* is now read, the correction *νυχεύω* for *χεύω* (MSS.) being due to Hermann.

523. *ῥμάς*, the chorus.

προταινί. Parmeniscus, according to Σ, testifies that this is a Boeotian word. It occurs nowhere else. Tr. 'in front of.'

524. *ἐγερτί*, *wakefully*: found also Soph. *Ant.* 413. The form *ἐγρηγορτί* occurs *Il.* x. 183.

525. *δέχθαι*, Musurus for the unmetrical *δέχεσθαι* of MSS. The syncopated aor. form is not found elsewhere outside Homer.

526. *στρατοπέδοισι*; for the plur. used of a single camp, cf. *infra* 811 and Xen. *An.* 7, 3, 34.

527 ff. *Exeunt* Hector *et* Rhesus. The chorus, who have been ordered to return to their posts in front of the camp (*v.* 523), decide that their watch is now ended, and propose to rouse the Lycians who are to take the fifth and last watch. With this object they leave the orchestra (564), but before they find the Lycians they hear that enemies are in the camp. They return in haste (674) and dis-

covering Odysseus on the stage arrest him. [See *Intro.* § 1 note 4.]

The passage 527-537 is based on *Il.* x. 251 ff.

ἀλλ' ἵομεν· μάλα γὰρ νύξ ἀνεται, ἐγγύθι δ' ἠώς,
ἄστρα δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε, παρώχωκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ
τῶν δύο μοιράων, τριτάτῃ δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λέλειπται.

527. ἀμείβει, 'receives in turn,' cf. the similar¹ but intransitive use in *Or.* 1503 ἀμείβει καὶ νὺν ἐκ καὶ νύκτων where the schol. paraphrases it by διαδέχεται. The meaning 'receive in turn' is a natural modification of the common meaning 'take in exchange.'

528 ff. πρῶτα. I have kept the MSS. reading. Lachmann followed by Nauck and Wecklein reads τίς ἀμείβει τὰν ἐμὰν πρῶτα (=πρώτῃ) which is an exact equivalent to the antistrophe. The sense, however, of πρῶτα, as Vater and Paley saw, is unsatisfactory. There is but one watch to follow, the fifth. An adjective moreover is needed with σημεῖα: stars were setting all night long and some particular reference is desirable.

πρῶτα σημεῖα is vaguely used to refer to the stars which had been prominent at the beginning of the night, or rather perhaps of the watch. For σημεῖα 'constellations' cf. *Ion* 1156 Ἱάδες, σαφέστατον σημεῖον.

ἐπτάποροι Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι. Crates (fl. c. 210 B.C.) according to Σ. took these words closely with σημεῖα, 'The first stars and the heavenly Pleiads are setting,' and objected that this could not occur at a time when Aquila is at its culmination: hence the *Rhesus* is the work of Euripides' youth when he was still ignorant of astronomy! The correct explanation of the passage is however given by Σ. 'The first constellations are setting, and the Pleiads are in the sky (i.e. above the horizon) and the eagle hovers midmost in heaven (i.e. is culminating).' This astronomical reference is explained by Dr A. S. Way: 'Aquila is high in the southern heavens and the Pleiades are well above the eastern horizon, at about 3 a.m. in the middle of June. The star referred to (537) as rising in the east might be Mira Ceti.' ἐπτάποροι II. 'the seven journeying Pleiads'; each part of the compound adj. retaining its own force; cf. πυκνόπτεροι ἀηδόνες, *Soph. O. C.* 17, with Jebb's note. Eur. was the first extant author to speak of seven Pleiads (*Iph. Aul.* 7, *Or.* 1005, *Fr.* 779 Nauck). Only six stars are visible to the naked eye, hence Ovid's line, 'Quae septem dici, sex tamen esse solent.'

μέσα, adverbial, as μέσον, *Or.* 983.

533. **ἔξιτε.** Hartung, from *Chr. Pat.* 1855, ἔγρεσθ', ἔγρεσθε· τί γυναῖκες μέλλετε; ἔξιτε. The reading of the MSS. ἔγρεσθε not only does not correspond with the antistrophe (*v.* 552) but does not suit the context. The words are addressed by certain members of the chorus to their fellows. It would be ludicrous to suppose that these latter during the long colloquy of Hector and Rhesus had appropriated the empty beds. On the other hand κοιτᾶν ἔξιτε πρὸς φυλακάν, 'leave the sleeping-quarters and return to your post,' gives the sense required, and the association of ἔγρεσθε and ἔξιτε in the passage quoted from *Chr. Pat.* makes it probable that ἔξιτε is the word displaced in our MSS. by the repetition of ἔγρεσθε.

534. **μηνάδος.** μηνάς (=μήνη) only here. For similar double forms Albert cf. οἶνη (*Bacch.* 535) and οἰνάς Ion (of Chios) ap. Athen. p. 447 D; δειρή Pind. *Ol.* 3. 27, δειράς, Soph. *Ant.* 832. It is not explained how μηνάδος αἴγλη proclaims the approach of dawn.

537. **προδρόμων.** The correction is due to Musgrave.

538 ff. L. Dindorf supposes that the anapaests (538-545 and 557-564) should be in strophic correspondence. If so, we must assume that a line has dropped out after 538; 539 must be emended to form a paroemiac; 561, unmetrical as given in MSS., must be altered to correspond to 541. It is to be noted, further, that the sections belonging to different speakers do not correspond. There seems therefore no need to assume strophic correspondence.

538. **ἐκηρύχθη...φυλακήν.** κηρύσσω is followed by an acc. of place on the analogy of verbs of motion: cf. *συρία* 270 οἱ χρῆν γεγωνεῖν, and *Il.* 11. 51 κηρύσσειν ἀγορήνδε...Ἀχαιοῖς.

539. **Κόροιβον** is now ascertained to be the reading of V. Coroebus is not mentioned in Homer but Mygdon appears in *Il.* 111. 186, where we read of Φρύγας ἀνέρας...λαοὺς Ὀτρῆος καὶ Μύγδονος ἀντιθέοιο. Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 341) speaks of 'Coroebus | Mygdonides. Illis ad Troiam forte diebus | Venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore | Et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat.' In Virgil as in Euripides the Phrygians are identical with the Trojans, not as in Homer, a people in alliance with them. Mygdon and his family remain, however, *allies* of Priam. Hence in Virgil Coroebus brings aid to Priam and the Phrygians. Here he likewise figures as

an ally, and, as the Phrygians are no longer available, he is made a leader of the Paeonians. This tribe, which claimed Trojan origin, had their home in Macedonia, where the Mygdonians were their neighbours. Hence, as Vater points out, the metamorphosis of the son of Mygdon into a leader of the Paeonians is not unnatural.

540. γάρ. See on v. 17. The order of the watches is (1) Paeonians under Coroebus, (2) Cilicians, (3) Mysians, (4) Trojans, (5) Lycians.

545. 'According to the appointment of the lot.'

546-550. For the story of Procne v. *Od.* XIX. 518-523 :

ὡς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόυρη, χλωρῆς ἀηδών,
καλὸν ἀείδῃσιν ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιοι,
δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκινοῖσιν,
ἣ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,
παῖδ' ὀλοφυρομένη Ἰτυλον φίλον, ὃν ποτε χαλκῶ
κτεῖνε δι' ἀφραδίας κοῦρον Ζήθιοιο ἀνακτος....

546 f. Σιμόεντος ἡμένα κοίτας 'seated on her blood-stained nest by Simois.' For the rare local genitive cf. Soph. *El.* 900, ἐσχάτης δ' ὀρώ | πυρᾶς νεώρη βόστρυχον τετμημένον, which Jebb explains as 'developed out of the possessive (*belonging to* and so *in the region of*).' κοίτας cognate accusative with ἡμένα, like δαιμόνων σέλημα ἡμένων Aesch. *Ag.* 183.

548. πολυχорδοτάτῃ γήρῳ 'with voice of many tones.' For ὕμνεϊ Σ records an ancient variant θρηνεῖ.

549. παιδολέτωρ, feminine as in *Med.* 1393. VLP have ἃ παιδ. the gloss having crept into the text. Heath suggested μερίμνας or μέριμναν for μέριμνα of the MSS., which is impossible. After three nominatives the error might readily have arisen.

552. νυκτιβρόμου for νυκτιδρόμον Pierson. The form is ἄπ. εἶρ.

553. ἰάν, voice, a rare word, in Tragedy only here and in Aesch. *Pers.* 936.

554. ὄμματος ἔδραν, v. *supra* 8.

556. πρὸς αὖς, 'towards dawn.' The accusative is frequent in this sense, e.g. πρὸς ἔω Ar. *Ecc.* 312, πρὸς ἐσπέραν Xen. *An.* 4, 5, 21, etc., but I have not found a parallel to the use of the genitive here. Both accusative and genitive can be used after πρὸς to denote spatial relation, 'on the side of,' 'in the direction of.'

Blaydes, perhaps rightly, would read αὖ. Musgrave cites for the

sentiment Moschus II. 2, ἐγγύθι δ' ἥως, | ὕπνος ὅτε γλυκίων μέλιτος
βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζων....

560. ἀλλ' ἦ, see on 36. ἐσπαίσας, as being a rare word (in Tragedy only here and in Soph. *O. T.* 1252) is preferable to εἰσπεσών of LP(V). The form εἰσπαίσας is given by O, but the rule in Trag. is to use ἐς before a consonant.

561. Murray, marking a change of speaker after διόλωλε and deleting εἴη, has restored metre and sense to a perplexing passage. For τάχ' ἄν used absolutely, he cites Plato *Soph.* 255 C : Ξε. τί δέ; τὸ θάτερον ἄρα ἡμῖν λεκτέον πέμπτον; ἦ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ὄν ὡς δὴ ἅττα ὀνόματα ἐφ' ἐνὶ γένει διανοεῖσθαι δεῖ; Θεα. τάχ' ἄν. Similarly, *Rep.* 369 A. The construction being infrequent εἴη would readily be added. 'Can it be that he has rushed into a hidden ambush? Perhaps so. I fear it.'

565 ff. The stage and orchestra are now empty: enter in the darkness Odysseus and Diomedes in search of Hector's encampment.

566. στάζει. For its metaphorical use, in reference to *sound*, cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 136, πραῦν δ' Ἰάσων ποτιστάζων ὄαρον.

τευχέων. 'For the genitive plur. of the third declension in -εων Baier lays down the rule that the uncontracted form is always used in lyrics and anapaestic verses, and in trimeter iambs if the word forms a cretic, e.g. τευχέων. In trimeter iambs the contracted form is used when the word would otherwise be an anapaest, e.g. ὀρώων not ὀρέων.' Keene on Eur. *El.* 94.

567. ἀντύγων, see on 118.

568. κλάζει σιδήρου sc. κλαγγήν, cf. the similar use with ὄζειν and πνεῖν.

571. 'I shall be on my guard, even when stepping in the shadow.'

573. 'I know...having heard it from Dolon.' κλύειν is an aorist-present form [Giles, *Manual of Philology*, ed. 2, p. 489].

576. ἔγχος ἐλκυσται. ἔγχος = ξίφος as in Soph. *Ant.* 1236, etc. For ἔλκω of *drawing a sword* cf. id. 1233.

577. The spies have now reached Hector's quarters, following the instructions extorted from Dolon. They are surprised to find the beds empty and assume that the whole company has departed. For the λόχος of Hector cf. v. 26.

586. **μολόντε.** The correction is due to Canter.

589. **μολεῖν**, see on 157.

590. **νεώτερον** 'startling.' *νέον* and *νεώτερον* are often used in Attic in a euphemistic sense.

594. **πείθεις.** MSS. have *πείθου* and give the line to Odysseus. Wilamowitz emends on the ground that 'secundum tragoediae consuetudinem Diomedes cedere se Ulixis rationibus diserte debebat pronuntiare.'

τυχεῖν, L and P, supported by *Chr. Pat.* 2009, 2038; *τύχη* (V) is supposed by Vater to have arisen from a reading *εὖ δοίη τύχη*: cf. Eur. *Al.* 1004.

595. For the intransitive use of *λείπω* Musgrave cites Thuc. 5. 4, *ἀπολιπόντες ἐκ Συρακούσων*. But it is possible to supply *αὐτάς* and take *ἐκ τάξεων* with *χωρεῖτε*.

601 f. After **οὐ σχέθαι μὴ οὐ**, not *μὴ*, would be regular and is read here by Nauck, but cf. *O. T.* 1387 *οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην | τὸ μὴ ποκλῆσαι τοῦμὸν ἄθλιον δέμας*: also *Aj.* 96, *Ant.* 443, etc. **σφε** is occasionally used in Tragedy (as here) for the singular personal pronoun, masculine or feminine.

612. **πόθεν**, lit. 'starting from what point,' implies 'in what direction.' The line is thus not a mere repetition of the previous one. Paley cites Soph. *O. C.* 505 for a similar use of *ἐκεῖθεν*, where to the inquiry *τὸν τόπον δ' ἵνα | χρήσει μ' ἐφευρεῖν, τοῦτο βούλομαι μαθεῖν*, the answer is *τοῦκεῖθεν ἄλσους*, *on the further side of the grove*, and *Cycl.* 681 where a question *ποτέρας τῆς χερὸς*; answered by *ἐν δεξιᾷ σου*, is followed by a demand for more precise information, *ποῦ*; The same use of *πόθεν* recurs *infra* 695.

615. **ἀμείψηται**, 'till night pass into day,' cf. Plato, *Apol.* 37 D, *ἐξ ἄλλης ἄλλην πόλεως ἀμειβομένῳ*.

623. **πάρες γε.** Reiske's *παράσχος* is not needed, for *γε* is regularly used after the more emphatic of two alternatives: cf. *Il.* x. 480, *ἀλλὰ λυ' ἵππους · | ἡὲ σύ γ' ἄνδρας ξναιρε, μελήσουσιν δ' ἐμοὶ ἵπποι*.

626. For the 'gnome' cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1431, *ἔρδοι τις ἢν ἕκαστος εἰδέη τέχνην*, Hor. *Epist.* i. 14. 44, *quam scit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem*. At this point Odysseus leaves the stage: the actor taking his part reappears as Paris at v. 642. Hence Athene uses the singular in vv. 634, 636, as addressing Diomedes only.

629. **μεμβλωκότων**, a Homeric form (*Od.* xvii. 190) found nowhere else in Attic.

633. **ὑπάρχειν**, 'ought he not then *to be the first to die*,' i.e. before the Thracians. It is true however, as Paley observes, that **ὑπάρχω** with a participle in the sense 'make a beginning in...' usually suggests that the act to which reference is made is followed by acts of reprisal, an implication not present here.

635. **θανεῖν** is the reading of O. **κτανεῖν** was given by VLP. In the next line **ᾤπερ** is a correction by a later hand in P; the mss. give **ὥσπερ**: but, as noted above, **ι** and **σ** are frequently confused.

639. **σαθροῖς** means *rotten, unsound*. The particular kind of unsoundness depends upon the context. Here it is *deceit* as in *Bacchae* 487, **τοῦτ' ἐς γυναῖκας δόλιόν ἐστι καὶ σαθρόν**. In *Hec.* 1190 the **λόγοι σαθροί** are *unconvincing* arguments.

640. 'And though I have said all this, yet he (Paris) with whom I must deal knows not, nor has heard aught, though near to our conversation.' Diomedes might naturally fear that Paris, who is approaching, overheard the words of Athena. **εἶπον**, 'instantaneous' aor.; see on 280. **παθεῖν** has often a neutral sense 'to be affected by an action.' For **λόγου** see on 149. Diomedes now departs to slay Rhesus.

648. **τιμῆς**, an allusion to the judgment of Paris, again referred to in *v.* 655.

649 f. 'And now to crown the success of the Trojan host, I am come bringing thee a powerful friend.' **μέγας φίλος** like the Lat. *magnus amicus*.

654 f. 'And I say that, by giving judgment in thy favour, I have bestowed upon this city the greatest treasure that ever I brought her.' **ἐν βίῳ** = 'during my life.' **κρίνας** = *προκρίνας* as in *Tro.* 928, **Ἥρα δ' ὑπέσχετ' Ἀσιάδ' Εὐρώπης θ' ὄρους | τυραννίδ' ἔξειν εἰ σφε κρίνειεν Πάρις**.

658 f. 'And one man, who did not see them, talks of them, while he who saw them coming can give no account of them.' The difference between **λέγω** and **φράζω** is to be noted. Recent editors rightly put a colon at **φράσαι**. It is Paris himself who has come to Hector's tent; he does not know that the spies have been there.

660. **ἦλυθον** is 1st person: the Homeric form is found in trimeters in *El.* 598, *Tro.* 374. **οὐνεκα**, when a preposition, is

altered by some editors to *εἵνεκα* : but *οὐνεκα*, according to Kühner, *Gk Gr.* § 325. 10, is the form most frequently employed by the Tragic writers.

662. *κοιμήσων* (the reading of V and O, for which L and P have *κοσμήσων*), 'assign a resting-place to': lit. *lay to rest*. In 138 *κοίμα* is read by conjecture where MSS. give *κόσμι*.

667. A fine example of tragic irony.

668. Athene now turns to Odysseus and Diomedes, who have slain Rhesus and are in possession of his chariot. She bids them flee, for the guards are returning. *ἔρρωμένους*, *vehement, eager*, cf. Thuc. 2. 8, *ἔρρωτο* *πᾶς εἴ τι δύναίτο συνεπιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς*.

672. Cf. *Il.* x. 509, *νόστου δὴ μνήσαι, μεγαθύμον Τυδέος νιέ, | νῆας ἐπὶ γλαφυράς, μὴ καὶ πεφοβημένος ἔλθης, | μὴ ποῦ τις καὶ Τρῶας ἐγείρῃσιν θεὸς ἄλλος*.

673 f. *ἄλκοῦς*, *v. supra* 146. *μέλλετε σῶσαι* is a rare construction, *μέλλω*, *delay*, usually taking the present infinitive; but cf. *Phoen.* 300, *τί μέλλεις...θιγεῖν ὠλέναισιν τέκνον*.

675. V and O wrongly prefix to this line a note, *chorus of Lycians*. The chorus is of course the same from beginning to end of the play: see *vv.* 820-832. For the dramatic situation implied in *vv.* 675-691 *v. Intro.* § 1.

677. *αὐδῶ*, 'I mean him.' Cf. *Hipp.* 352, *Ἰππόλυτον αὐδᾶς*;

682. *λόχος*, 'what is your *company*?' so V and O: *λόγος* (L and P) is explained by Vater 'what is the watchword?'

685. *ἴστω*, Portus; but the verse cannot be correct as it stands and none of the corrections is satisfactory. Wilamowitz compounds a trochaic verse out of 680 and 685, which he would place after 679: *δεῦρο δεῦρο πᾶς ἴτω* [MSS. *ἴστω*]. 'Οδ. *θάρσει. Χο. πέλας ἴθι παῖε πᾶς*. But this correction would add a second to the one certain instance in Tragedy of a trochaic tetrameter lacking the diaeresis after the fourth foot (*v. Soph. Phil.* 1402, with Jebb's note).

686. Following Murray I regard the part of the line spoken by the chorus as an interrupted sentence. 'Didst thou slay Rhesus?' asks Odysseus; 'No,' answers the chorus, 'but as for thee who wast about to slay him....'

693. *θρασύς*, Madvig. MSS. give *τίς ὁ μέγα θράσος*. Vater reads *τίς ὁ μέγα θράσος*, the art. being used for rel. pron. and hence accented. So also Wecklein, although the latter emended *Hipp.* 525

"Ἐρως δ' κατ' ὀμμάτων στάσεις πόθον by reading στάζων. On the other hand Murray retains the mss. reading in *Hirp.* 525, but accepts *θρασύς* in the present passage. Matthiae (*Gr. Gram.* § 292) limits the use of art. = rel. pron. in Tragedy to those parts of the article beginning with a consonant. Paley and Nauck give τίς ὁ μέγα θράσος, reading κατὰ πτόλιν with L and P (where V and O have πόλιν), in the antistrophe (v. 711).

695. πόθεν, in what direction? see *supra* 612.

701. νησιώτην σποράδα βίον, 'a lonely island life.' For adjectival use of νησιώτην Paley cites *Heracl.* 84, οὐ νησιώτην, ὦ ξένοι, τρίβω βίον, σποράδα, i.e. the life of one who is not a member of a community. Arist. *Pol.* 1. 2. 7 says σποράδες τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾤκουν. The combination denotes that the life is lonely because lived in one of the islands scattered through the Aegean. One group of these is called the Sporades. Paley remarks on the contempt with which islanders were regarded by the inhabitants of the mainland. He cites *Androm.* 14, where the heroine complains she has been assigned τῷ νησιώτῃ Νεοπτολέμῳ, δορὸς γέρας. Like the Locrians and Thessalians, here joined with them, they had a reputation for piracy.

702. The reading in the text is due to Hermann, cf. the corresponding portion of the antistrophe v. 720. In the next line δ' has been inserted after ποῖον by Porson.

705. τί μὴν; 'assuredly': an elliptical expression, lit. *how indeed (otherwise)?* equivalent in meaning to the full form τί μὴν οὐ; which is found in the next verse.

706. γάρ, see on 17.

708. Ὀδυσσῆ (so in Pindar, *Nem.* 8. 26), cf. Ἀχιλλῆ, *El.* 439.

710. πάρος. For the 'anachronism' see on 501 *supra*.

711. ὑπάφρων (so accented) is from ὑπαφρος which according to a scholion in L refers strictly to *sunken rocks* 'under the foam' and hence means ὁ μὴ φανερός. Hesychius adds a second interpretation τὸ ὑγρασίαν ἔχον ἐμπερῆ ἀφρῶ. L. and S. would translate it here *dim with tears*; Paley, *treacherous* or *blear-eyed*. ὑπάφρων (from ὑπάφρων) was a variant reading, for the scholion in L, cited above, proceeds ἡ ὁ καταπληκτικός, ὁ μανικός. ὑπάφρων occurs (in the comparative) Hdt. 4. 95.

712. ῥακόδυτος ἄπ. *είρ.*, but ῥακοδύτης is found in St Chrysostom.

713 f. **ξηφήρης...πέπλοις**, 'armed with a sword, concealed in his cloak.' The phrase however implies that the *sword* was hidden beneath his clothes. **κρύφιος** (for *κρυφαῖος*), Morstadt, cf. strophe v. 696.

715. **ἐπαιτῶν**, which generally has the meaning *asking in addition*, here signifies 'begging' as in Soph. *O. C.* 1364 ἄλλους ἐπαιτῶ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον.

719. 'Spoke ill against the Royal Halls of the Atreidae.' For the constr. **βάζειν τινά τι** cf. *Hērph.* 118, εἴ τις σ' ὕφ' ἡβης...μάταια βάζει. For the ironical particle *δήθεν* standing first in a subordinate clause, Paley cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 986, Soph. *Trach.* 382.

720. **πανδίκως**, as *he deserves*. There is no authority for *πανδίκως* = *πάντως*.

724. **δυσολίζων**, see on 805 *infra*.

725. **δράσας** (Wilamowitz) is just as likely to have given rise to the MSS. reading *δρᾶς* as Dindorf's *δρᾶσαι* which is read by most editors; it gives a somewhat better sense.

730. **ὑφ' ἴσως**, Reiske. **βόλον**, *net*; cf. *Bacch.* 848 ἀνὴρ ἐς βόλον καθίσταται, and Hesychius' gloss βόλος· δίκτυον.

731. The text follows Hermann's correction.

737. **ἀμβλώψ**, ἄπ. *είρ.* Rolfe cf. *ἀμβλωπός*, Aesch. *Eum.* 956.

738. **Τρώων**, Hermann for *Τρωικῶν*. There is no certain instance in Trag. of *ω* before a vowel in the same word. *πατρῶος*, with short penult, given a few times in MSS. of Eur. may be corrected to *πάτριος* which is used in the same sense. See Jebb on Soph. *Phil.* 1099 where MSS. give *τοῦ λῆφονος δαίμονος*.

740. 'Sleeps his armed sleep,' L. and S. **κοῖτον** (= *a lying down*) is a cognate acc. with *ιαύει* which properly means *to pass the night*. Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 1203 οὗτ' ἐννυχίαν τέρψιν *ιαύειν*, with Jebb's note.

744. **τολυπεύσας** here only after Homer though Albert cites *ἐκτολυπεύσειν* from Aesch. *Ag.* 1032. The literal meaning is 'to wind off wool for spinning.' Hesychius explains its metaphorical use by *κατεργασάμενος*.

746. **οἶα...κλύων** = *τοιαῦτα γὰρ τοῦδε κλύων γιγνώσκω (τοῦτο)*.

756 f. See on 102 *supra*.

762. **Ἐκτόρεια χεῖρ**, Dindorf. For *Ἐκτόρεια* compare Ar. *Eccl.* 1029 'καὶ ταύτ' ἀνάγκη μούστί;' 'Διομήδειά γε.' Soph. *Fr.* 758

(Dindorf): 'Υπέρεια κρήνη νᾶμα θεοφιλέστατον. λέξας in the next line is to be taken κατὰ σύνεσιν with 'Εκτόρεια χεῖρ.

763. **πεδοστιβεῖς**: 'we were sleeping *on our feet*.' There is no need to change this to **πεδοστιβεῖ** as is done by many editors, cf. 769.

766. **πληκτρα**, *goads*. It was customary to hang the goad on the yoke for greater convenience in emergencies: cf. *Il.* XXIII. 510, where Diomedes κλῖνε...μάστιγα ποτὶ ζυγόν. Euripides, in representing this precaution as neglected on the present occasion, has taken a hint from Homer, who (*Il.* x. 500) describes Odysseus as τόξω ἐπιπλήσων, ἐπεὶ οὐ μάστιγα φαεινὴν | ποικίλου ἐκ δίφροιο νοήσατο χερσὶν ἐλέσθαι.

772. **ἀλκή**, 'battle': *Suppl.* 683, συνῆψαν ἀλκὴν κάκράτουν ἡσώωντό τε. As Vater notes, the poet of the *Rhesus*, like Homer, is unaware of the legend that Troy could not be taken if the steeds of Rhesus had eaten of Trojan fodder. Vergil alludes to it, *Aen.* I. 473.

776. **ἦπυσα**. This word is not found elsewhere in Tragic senarii. For the constr. cf. *Bacch.* 984, μαινάσιν δ' ἀπύσει, τίς ὄδε... ἐς ὄρος ἔμολεν;

777. **δοκήσας**, the regular form of the aor. is only found in poetry and late prose.

778. **τὰ πλείονα**, 'and I said no more.' The words are usually explained as meaning 'the further observations I might have made.' So Jebb, on *Soph. Ph.* 576 μὴ νῦν μ' ἔρη τὰ πλείονα, regards them as equivalent to 'the further details N. might wish to learn,' comparing *O. C.* 36 πρὶν νῦν τὰ πλείον' ἱστορεῖν. It has, however, been pointed out by Prof. J. I. Beare (*Hermathena* XXXVI. p. 108) that this explanation cannot hold in *Ant.* 313 ἐκ τῶν γὰρ αἰσχρῶν λημμάτων τοὺς πλείονας | ἀτωμένους ἵδοις ἂν ἢ σεσωσμένους where "if we rendered 'ill-gotten gain brings the majority (i.e. of those who partake of it) to ruin rather than to weal,' we should find ourselves compelled to supply *μᾶλλον* or some such word in the Greek before ἢ to make up the needs of the logic; and this is extremely awkward and almost certainly wrong." He cf. *O. C.* 796 κάκ' ἂν λάβοις τὰ πλείον' ἢ σωτήρια, *Eur. Hipp.* 471 ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ πλείω χρηστὰ τῶν κακῶν ἔχεις, *Galen* 869 (*Thrasylbulus* XXXII.) τῆς 'Αθλίδος δ' αὐτὸ γιγνώσκειν τὰ πλείω ἢ ἀγνοεῖν ὁμολογήσαιμ' ἂν. These examples incline him to hold that 'the comparative adjective with the article is used here exactly as if it were without it.'

780. **δόξα**, 'a vision,' cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 420, *δνειρόφαντοι δόξαι*. For the expression cf. Soph. *O. T.* 911 *δόξα μοι παρεστάθη*, though there *δόξα* merely means 'a thought,' 'fancy.'

781. The order is *εἶδον...λύκους ἐπεμβ. ἵππ...ἐδραῖαν ῥάχιν*, the construction being that known to grammarians as *σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος*. **ὥς ὄναρ δοκῶν** = *ὥς ἐν ὄνειρατι ἐδόκουν ὄρα̃ν* : *for in my dream I seemed to see them*. *ἐδραῖος* here only in sense of 'affording a seat,' but in Xen. *Eg.* 5. 5 that part of the back of a horse on which the saddle lies is called *ἡ ἔδρα*.

785. **ἀντηρίδων**, properly *props*, *supports* (for which see L. and S.). Suidas also glosses it *θυρίς* (a window). Here, if correct, it must mean *nostrils*. So Σ, *ἐκ τῶν μυκτήρων ποῖον ἦχον ἀπετέλουν*. Musgrave wished to read *ἀρτηριῶν* 'windpipe,' citing Soph. *Trach.* 1054 (of the Nessus-shirt), *πνεύμονός τ' ἀρτηρίας ῥοφεῖ ξυνοικοῦν*.

790 f. 'And from my master as he lay in agony, wounded to death, the stream of fresh blood smites me.' I read with Hermann *πάρα* for *παρά* of the MSS. The order will then be *θερμός δὲ κροννὸς αἵματος νέου, παρά δεσπότου δυσθυήσκοντος σφαγαῖς, βάλλει με*. In **σφαγαῖς** the notions of *slaughter* and of a *wound* may both be present (see L. and S. *sub vb.*). Paley who retains the reading of the MSS. takes *παρά σφαγαῖς δεσπότου* and explains 'by my slaughtered master.' He maintains that for the sense 'issuing from' *ἐκ* not *παρά* is required. But this objection does not hold in the case of *persons*.

δυσθυήσκοντος : cf. *El.* 843 *δυσθυήσκον*. These forms are contrary to analogy. Compound verbs (except those consisting of a simple verb and a preposition) are formed only from compound nouns or adjectives and end in *-έω*. Nauck therefore reads *δυσθυητοῦντος* here and *δυσθυητοῦν* in *El.* 843, though these forms are nowhere actually extant. Another irregular formation *δυσολίζω* is found in this play (*vv.* 724, 805) and in Aesch. *Ag.* 1316.

793 f. 'And as I strove to catch sight of my spear and was hunting after it, there stood beside me a sturdy fellow who smites me with his sword in the belly at the side.' **παίει με νεῖραν** : another instance of the constr. noted *supra* 781 f. **νεῖραν** is Bothe's correction for the unmetrical reading of the MSS., *νείαιραν*. Hesychius has the glosses *νείρη· κοιλία ἐσχάτη* and *νεῖραι· κατώταται*, and editors since Casaubon have read *νείρη* (*νείρει* MSS.) in Aesch. *Ag.* 1479. *νείαιρα*, *the abdomen*, is cited from Hippocrates. *Chr. Pat.*,

1213, has *νύσσει παραστὰς νειάτην πλευράν*. *νειάτην* Musgrave regarded as originally a gloss on *νείραν*, for Eustathius on *Il.* v. 539 explains *νειαιραν* by *νειάτην*. *πλευροῦ* which is given by L and P for *πλευράν* may have arisen through a misunderstanding of the construction. For the scene cf. (with Patin) Verg. *Aen.* ix. 345 sq. (the slaughter of Rhoetus by Euryalus), *Pectore in adverso totum cui cominus ensem | condidit assurgenti*.

805. *δυσοίζου*: 'Do not be distressed; an enemy hath done this.' The word only occurs here, *supra* 714 and Aesch. *Ag.* 1316, *οὔτοι δυσοίζω θάμνον ὡς ὄρνις φόβῳ*. Hesychius who recognises both act. and middle explains it as *φοβεῖσθαι, ὑπονοεῖν, δυσχεραίνειν*.

The reading in the text is due to Murray. The mss. give *μηδὲν δυσοίζου πολεμίους δρᾶσαι τάδε*, which does not yield the sense required. Most editors have accepted Musgrave's *μηδὲν δυσοίζε' οὐ πολεμίους δρᾶσαι τάδε* 'do not be distressed into thinking that any one but an enemy has done this.' This hardly suits what immediately follows: 'and Hector himself is also coming, having learnt of thy misfortune.' Murray's reading supplies a sharper contrast between the actions of the enemy and of Hector. If *δρασαν* were to become *δρᾶσαι*, as it readily might, *πολέμιοι* would be altered to *πολεμίους* to correspond. *πολέμιοι δρῶσιν*, Lenting.

806. *συμφορᾶς*. Paley reads *συμφοράς*, but for the gen. of the thing heard instead of the more usual acc. cf. Soph. *El.* 35, *χρηῖ μοι τοιαῦθ' ὁ Φοῖβος ὦν πένθει τάχα*: *Od.* i. 281, ii. 255.

811. *ἐξαπώσατε*. This word is open to criticism (1) on account of its form, for *ῶθέω* in Attic should take the syllabic augment. The unaugmented form belongs to the Homeric and Ionic dialects, and to post-classical writers, though Eustathius cites it from Sophocles (Frag. 438, Nauck) *οὐ λιμὸν οὗτος τῶνδ' ἀπώσε*: (2) it does not suit the second alternative *οὔτ' ἐξιόντας*. These latter words however may be an afterthought carelessly added by Hector in his indignation at the escape of the spies after the mischief they have wrought. Wecklein and J. I. Beare (*Hermathena* xxx. p. 79) have independently suggested *ἐξοπώπατε* have descried. But there are too many Homeric forms in the *Rhesus* to make emendation on this ground safe.

812. *τίσει* (more correctly written *τείσει*) L, P. It is read by all mss. in 894; V has here the more commonplace *δώσει*.

816. **ὁμώμοσται** is the reading of the MSS. which I have followed Nauck in retaining. Most editors give **ὁμώμοται** which is found in Aesch. *Ag.* 1284. But **ὁμώμοσται** occurs in Arist. *Rhet.* 1. 15. 27, and **ὠμόσθην** is cited from Xenophon and Hypereides and **ὁμοσθήσεται** from Andocides.

817. **ἦτοι...γε.** See on 623 *supra*.

With **καρανιστής** (ἄπ. εἰρ.) Rolfe cf. **καρανιστήρ** Aesch. *Eum.* 186.

819. **τὸ μηδέν**, 'a cipher': so Eur. *El.* 370.

820-4. 'O thou Guardian Power of the state, mighty, mighty in my sight, surely it was then they came (sc. **οἱ κατάσκοποι**) when I went to bring thee news that fires were blazing round the ships.'

The reading in the text, which is due to Wilamowitz, involves a very slight alteration of the MSS. readings (see crit. note) and gives an exact correspondence with the strophe (455 ff.). Verrall suggested **μετὰ σέ, μή, μετὰ σέ**, meaning (I presume) 'perchance it was in search of thee *they* came' (for this 'independent' use of **μή** cf. 115 *supra*). Prof. Murray reading **μετὰ σέ, ναί, μετὰ σέ**, renders in his translation 'It was for thee...I must have gone... That time with message that the fires were burning.' But a definite reference to the *coming of the spies* is desirable. This is provided by the readings both of Wilamowitz and Verrall but the former seems preferable, as the *purpose* of the spies is really irrelevant, the leader being only concerned to account for their unobserved entry and departure.

πολίον (given by O in 166 where see note) is Vater's correction for **πολιούχον** which does not accord with the antistrophe (*supra* 454). In 824 **ναῦς πύρ' αἶθειν** is the correction of Kirchhoff and Badham. The MSS. have **ναυσὶ πυραΐθειν Ἀργείων στρατόν**, a reminiscence of *v.* 41, which violates the strophic correspondence. **αἶθειν** intransitive here, as in Soph. *Aj.* 286, **λαμπτήρες οὐκέτ' ἦθον**.

826. **ἔβριξ'**. *I fell asleep*. The aor. only here in Attic (**ἀποβρίξαντες**, *Od.* IX. 151). **ἔβρις**, given by V, would be aor. of **βρίθω** *I am heavy*. This latter word, though connected with the former, is not used of sleep.

827. **οὐ τὰς Σιμοεντιάδας**. Hermann, for the sake of the strophic correspondence (cf. *supra* 461); he has introduced the same form, nowhere actually found, on the same grounds in

Tro. 1116. The omission of the particle (μά) is not infrequent in negative oaths.

828. **ἄνα.** The usual form of the vocative *ἄναξ* is given by L and P, but violates the strophic correspondence (cf. 462 *supra*). Elsewhere *ἄνα* is only used in invocation of the gods (just as in English, while Sir is a common term of respect, Sire is a form of address reserved for Kings) yet the exceptional use here may be deliberate. The chorus, in their agony of shame and fear, are prepared to go any length in deprecating Hector's wrath. They have already addressed him as *πολλόχον κράτος*, but *πολιοῦχος* was a frequent epithet of deities, especially of Pallas Athene, and familiar as such to an Athenian audience. In moments of enthusiasm the chorus have a weakness for exaggerated language. Cf. their welcome of Rhesus (342-387) whom they address as *Ζεὺς ὁ φαναῖος*, as *μέγας βασιλεὺς* and *πολιάρχος* (with which cf. 820) and at the end of their ode hail as *θεὸς αὐτὸς Ἄρης*.

829. Some words have dropped out here: cf. 463. Nauck restores *πάντων πάντῃ ἔγωγε*.

830. **εἰ** with subj. in future conditions is an Epic idiom occasionally found in Attic poetry. *Soph. O. C.* 1443, *δυστάλαινα τάρ' ἐγὼ, εἰ σοῦ στερηθῶ*: *O. T.* 198, *εἴ τι νῦν ἀφῇ* on which Jebb has collected other instances. For the Homeric use see Monro, *Hom. Gram.* § 292.

837. **δεῖ** is sometimes found with a genitive and accusative instead of the usual genitive and dative.

838. 'whereby to persuade me that you did not slay your friends.' The construction is analogous to *πείθειν τινά τι*. Cf. *Plato Apol.* 37 A, *πέπεισμαι ἐγὼ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς τοῦτο οὐ πείθω*.

848. **τῶν σῶν**, *your own* allies, *i.e.* other than the Thracians. **ῶν** Bothe. The constr. = *μολόντων τῶν πολεμίων* (gen. abs.) **ῶν** (attracted relative) *λέγεις*.

849. **δ' ἐκάς**, Murray for *δὲ καί*. It adds greater emphasis to the statement to say 'we, *though far away* (cf. 846), have been wounded.' If the emendation is correct it is another instance of the confusion in MSS. of *σ* and *ι*. The comparative form *μειζόνως* is found *Hec.* 1121; cf. *Iph. Aut.* 379 *σωφρονεστέρως*.

852. **ἄν.** MSS. have *αὖ* but Σ annotates: *τὸ ἐξῆς, τίς ἂν κατ' εὐφρόνην τῶν πολεμίων μολῶν Ῥήσου χαμεύνας ἐξεύρεν*;

853 f. A piece of Tragic irony; the charioteer speaking in bitter sarcasm has stated the actual fact.

859 f. ἐν σοὶ δ' ἂν ἀρχοίμεσθα, sc. πλημμελές τι κλύων. ἐν σοὶ *in thy case*, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1315, ἐν ἐμοὶ θρασύς. ἀρχοίμεσθα ἂν. The potential optative expresses what may hereafter prove to be true (Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 238). Nauck adopting ἄρ' for ἂν from the Ambrosian palimpsest conjectures ἐν σοὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀρχώμεσθα; 'are we then to make a beginning in thy case?'

Mr F. B. Jevons (*C. R.* vi. 327) silently adopting Nauck's reading finds a further difficulty in Hector's saying 'never may such a passion for horses seize upon me that I should slay *a friend* (φίλους)'—'since Rhesus is dead and the horses far out of reach.' Hence he suggests μή μ' ἔρως ἔχει...φίλους; But nothing is more natural than for an accused person, in protesting his innocence of the crime imputed to him, to exclaim indignantly 'God forbid that such an idea should ever enter my mind.'

864. κατακτάνη, 'may prove to have slain Dolon.' Attic idiom would require in this sense κατεκτόνη (Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 103). κατέκτονε (for the form cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 587) would be correct in the sense 'has slain Dolon.' The aor. subj. however is occasionally used in Homer, after verbs of fearing, of that which 'may prove to have already happened' (Goodwin § 93), as *Il.* x. 98, καταβήμεν μὴ...κοιμήσωνται ἀτὰρ φυλακῆς...λάθωνται. *Id.* 538 (Nestor speaking of Diomedes and Odysseus), ἀλλ' αἰνῶς δέλδοικα κατὰ φρένα μὴ τι πάθωσιν. From this latter passage probably both the sentiment and construction of the present verse have been taken.

866. The 'sigmatism' of this line may be intentional, as suggesting anger and contempt.

869. For the sentiment Patin well compares the famous Vergilian line (*Aen.* x. 782): et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos.

871. δῆ for δέ, Porson.

873. αὐθεντῶν. F. Skutsch has an interesting account of this word in *Glotta* III. 4 (1912). Here it means 'murderer' in the sense of *one who did the deed with his own hands* as opposed to *φονεύς* who may be an indirect author of a murder, as Lysias (13. 53) calls Agoratus *φονεύς* of persons whom he had denounced to the Thirty. For the use of αὐθέντης here Skutsch cites Hdt. i. 117, Eur. *H. F.* 1359, and compares such words as αὐτόπτης, αὐτήκοος, αὐτοῦργος.

The oldest meaning of the word is *murderer of oneself* or of one's *συν* which appears e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 212, ὅμαιμος αὐθέντης φόνος. αὐθέντης Skutsch derives from αὐτός and θείνω with loss of a syllable by 'dissimilation.' αὐθέντης also acquired the sense 'master,' a meaning which prevailed in later Greek (but cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 442, δῆμος αὐθέντης χθονός) and survives in mod. Greek ἀφέντης, whence the Turkish *efendi*.

874-8. For a suggestive interpretation of this passage, communicated by Prof. G. Norwood, see *Appendix*.

878. πορσύνετε, *tend*, generally of things, to *see after*, but found in Apollonius Rhodius several times of persons as here: a frequent use with the form πορσαίνω as Pind. *Ol.* vi. 33, πορσαίνειν δόμεν Εἰλατίδα βρέφος.

879. τοῖσιν ἐν τείχει: the king and elders of Troy; a reference to the τειχοσκοπία (*Il.* iii.)—Vater.

881. λεωφόρου, the Att. form, is restored by Vater for the unmetrical λαο- of mss. λαοφόρους, read by V, is an unsuitable epithet for ἐκτροπὰς which means *open* spaces by the roadside where the traveller may 'turn off.' θάπτειν with πρὸς as implying motion. Vater cites Dem. p. 1320, 21, ἀπόδοτέ μοι [τὴν μητέρα] θάψαι εἰς τὰ πατρῶα μνήματα.

κελεύθου, Dobree for κελεύειν which involves a clumsy circumlocution; θάπτειν κελεύθου might easily be corrupted by a careless scribe into θάπτειν κελεύειν. For the phrase cf. Theocr. 25. 155: λαοφόρου ἐπέβησαν...κελεύθου. Paley cites *Alc.* 855 for a reference to burying by the wayside.

883. 'restores Troy to her sorrows.' ἀνάγει, the reading of the Ambrosian palimpsest: the other mss. give ἀγει *contra metrum*.

884. δαίμων ἄλλος, euphemistic, in contradistinction to δαίμων ὁ μεθ' ἡμῶν, *infra* 996. At this point the Muse appears ἀπὸ μηχανῆς bearing the body of Rhesus.

887. νεόκμητον, *just dead*. οἱ καμόντες = *those who have done their work*, i.e. *the dead*. Hence νεόκμητος here will be an instance of a verbal in -τος used actively (see on 360f.). Elsewhere the compound is passive 'new made.' Haun. gives νεόδημος as does *Chr. Pat.* 1456. With this we might compare phrases like ζῶντες καὶ δμαθέντες (*Tro.* 175).

890. σοφοῖς, *poets*, as frequently in Pindar.

895. **ιαλέμῳ αὐθιγενεῖ**. τῷ εὐθὺς γενομένῳ θρήνῳ, Σ. This interpretation is in accordance with the other examples of the word (see L. and S. *sub τῷ*.) which properly means *born on the spot*. We might translate *unpremeditated*. Others infer from 'born on the spot' the meaning *unaffected, genuine*.

897 f. **οἶαν ἔκελσας ὁδόν**: 'What a voyage didst thou make to Troy!' For the loose cognate accusative cf. *supra* 740.

900 f. **ἀπομεμφομένας**, 'though I blamed thee bitterly'; **ἀπό** strengthens the sense of the simple verb. But it is probable that we should read **ἀπό μὲν φαμένας** with Dindorf. **ἀπό** would then have a privative force as it has in the next line. **ἀπὸ δ' ἄντομένου**: no **ἀπάντεσθαι** occurs elsewhere but **ἄντομαι** = **ἀντιάζω**, *entreat*, is frequent.

906 ff. 'My curse on Oeneus' grandson, my curse on Laertes' son, who robbed me of a child, the best that ever mother bore; and on her who left a Grecian home and yielded to a Phrygian paramour and sailed hither, where she brought thee to destruction for Troy's sake, child of my love; and cities numberless she hath bereft of their bravest.'

Diomedes was son of Tydeus, son of Oeneus.

909. **ἀριστοτόκοιο** = **ἀρίστου τόκου** in apposition to **γέννας**: so in *Or.* 964, **καλλίπαις** = **καλὴ παῖς** in apposition to **θεά**, and in *Soph. Phil.* 1338 **ἀριστόμαντις** = **ἄριστος μάντις** in apposition to **Ἑλένος**.

910 ff. **Ἑλλάνα**. Badham for **Ἑλένα** which would violate the strophic correspondence. In 912 **ὅπου** is Wilamowitz' emendation for **ὑπ' Ἰλίου** (cf. strophe v. 901). **ὑπ' Ἰλίου** may well have been a gloss on **ὅπου** which suits the allusive character of the passage. **σ' ἔκατι** Bruhn, for **σὲ κατὰ**, which is faulty both in sense and rhythm.

913. **μυριάδας** here adjectival, for which use Murray cites Corinna (*Berl. Kl. Text.* v. 2, p. 28).

916. **Φιλάμμονος παῖ**. Thamyris. Philammon, son of Apollo, was, according to the myth, himself a poet, and established choruses of girls in the worship of Apollo at Delphi. 'The story of Thamyris' defeat is given in *Il.* II. 594, **Μοῦσαι | ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα παῦσαν αἰοιδῆς** · **στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν εἴπερ ἂν αὐταὶ | Μοῦσαι αἰδοιοῖεν**.... | **αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ αἰοιδὴν | θεσπεσίην ἀφέλονται καὶ ἐκέλευθον κιθαριστύν**.

922. The gold-mines of Pangaeum are mentioned also by Herodotus (VII. 112).

924. σοφιστής, poet, first in Pindar *Isth.* v. 28. κάτυφλώσαμεν Haun. κάκτυφλώσαμεν, VLP (which Murray retains). On the omission of the syllabic augment in trimeters Matthiae has an exhaustive note. (*Gk Gramm.* § 100 obs.) His conclusion is that 'the poets seem to have availed themselves of this licence only in the narrative of messengers and at the beginning of a trimeter or if in the middle of a trimeter at the beginning of a proposition.' Twenty-nine cases he finds to support his rule. The exceptions other than this passage number four. Aesch. *Cho.* 930, κάνες γ' ὃν οὐ χρεὴν καὶ τὸ μὴ χρεῶν πάθε. (Here it is easy to read ἔκανες with Pauw.) Soph. *Phil.* 371...πλησίον γὰρ ὦν κύρει (where Jebb reads κυρεῖ with Porson), Eur. *Alc.* 839, 'Ηλεκτρῶνος γείνατ' Ἀλκμήνη Διὶ. Here Wilamowitz would read 'Ηλεκτρῶνῃ γείνατ' κ.τ.λ. *Hec.* 580, τοιάδ' ἀμφὶ σῆς λέγον παιδός: but here the preponderance of MSS. authority is in favour of λέγων. It would appear therefore safer to accept Matthiae's canon and read κάτυφλώσαμεν here. The scribe may have carelessly written κ three times instead of twice in the phrase Θρηκὶ κάτυφλώσαμεν.

926. τίκτω. The time to which τίκτω refers is indicated as past by the tense of ἦκα, cf. *Bacch.* 2, Διόνυσος ὃν τίκτει ποθ' ἡ Κάδμου κόρη | Σεμέλη λοχευθεῖς ἀστραπηφόρῳ πυρί.

928. βρότειον Elmsley *metri gratia*.

933. ἀλκάς κορύσσουντ', *marshalling battles*, cf. 772.

936. γερουσῖαι, see on 401 *supra*.

939. Odysseus and Diomedes were but tools in the hands of Athene: she and she alone was the true agent.

943. φανὰς ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς. Orpheus *revealed the torch-processions*, i.e. ordained them. For φανὰ cf. *Ion* 550.

945. Musaeus, here described as an Athenian citizen, was according to other legends a Thracian. He was regarded as a disciple of Orpheus. Verses attributed to him are quoted by Aristotle and other ancient writers.

946. See on 500 *supra*.

949. ἐπάξομαι. 'I shall not call in any other poet,' i.e. to sing the dirge; for σοφιστής poet v. 924 n. A Muse can perform that office for herself, cf. 976, θρήνοις ἀδελφαὶ σ' ὑμνήσομεν. This view of the passage was first suggested by Bothe. The connection of

thought with the preceding passage is rather loose. The Muse has been speaking of poets in another connection but the word *θρηνηῶ* suggests the new idea. Vater, however, prefers to make *σοφιστής* mean 'interpreter, prophet,' in which sense it is applied to Melampus Hdt. II. 49. He compares Hector's words in 952, and *H. F.* 911, where to the messenger's *ἄλαστα τὰν δόμοισι* the chorus answers *μάντιν οὐχ ἕτερον ἄξομαι*.

950. **τροχηλάτης** Valckenaer. *στρατηλάτης* MSS., which is obviously wrong.

955. Hector breaks off his sentence at *λεύσσω* with an emphatic question, 'surely it was not to be supposed that I would not send heralds to my friends?' *τί μὴν* is generally found only at end of a clause; hence some would prefer *τί δῆτ'* here.

960. For the Homeric practice of burning clothes in honour of the dead, cf. *Il.* XXII. 510, *ἀτὰρ τοι εἴματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι κέονται | ...ἀλλ' ἦ τοι τάδε πάντα καταφλέξω πυρὶ κηλέῳ*.

962-973. This passage is discussed at length, *Intro.* § 1.

974. **ῥῆον** (Valckenaer) is a great improvement on *βαιόν* with which it might readily have been confused. *θεοῦ* depends on *πένθος*. The Muse would not admit that Thetis' love for Achilles was tenderer than her own for Rhesus. Cf. *infra* 977.

976. Cf. (with Way) *Od.* XXIV. 58: Agamemnon in Hades tells the story of Achilles' burial:

*ἀμφὶ δέ σ' ἔστησαν κοῦραι ἄλκιοιο γέροντος
οἴκτρ' ὀλοφυρόμεναι, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἴματα ἔσσαν,
Μοῦσαι δ' ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ
θρήνεον.*

977. *ἐν πένθει* with *Θέτιδος*, see 859 n.

980-3. For the sentiment, cf. *Med.* 1090 ff.

987. **πληροῦν τ' αὐχένας**, 'harness the necks of the steeds.' I have not met any exact parallel to this phrase, the nearest approximations perhaps being such uses as *ναῦν πληροῦν, θωρακεία πληροῦν* (Aesch. *Sept.* 32).

988. **πανούς** for MSS. *πόνους* Reiske. **Τυρσηνικῆς** (for which cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 567, Soph. *Aj.* 17, Eur. *Phoen.* 1377) perhaps as indicating that it was first introduced by the Etruscan pirates. The true Tyrrhenian trumpet was curved at the end like the Roman *lituus* (see Jebb on *Aj.* 17).

989. **ὑπερβαλὼν** Lenting. The sense requires the aor. part.

APPENDIX

on vv. 874-8.

Hector has been attempting to soothe Rhesus' charioteer, who insists that Trojans (in particular, Hector himself), not Greeks, are responsible for the murder of his lord. The man repeats his suspicions, and the conversation ends thus:

EK. ὅδ' αὖ τὸν αὐτὸν μῦθον οὐ λήξει λέγων.

HN. ὀλοῖθ' ὁ δράσας. οὐ γὰρ εἰς σέ τείνεται
γλῶσσ', ὥς σὺ κομπεῖς· ἡ Δίκη δ' ἐπίσταται.

EK. λάζυσθ'· ἄγοντες δ' αὐτὸν εἰς δόμους ἐμούς,
οὕτως ὅπως ἂν μὴ γκαλῇ πορσύνετε·
ὑμᾶς δ' ἰόντας κτέ.

What does the charioteer mean by his οὐ γὰρ εἰς σέ τείνεται γλῶσσ', ὥς σὺ κομπεῖς? 'For my speech does not apply to you, as you boast' (or 'mockingly assert'—see below) 'that it does'? This seems senseless, for: (i) the Thracian's charges *are* directed at Hector, not merely as responsible leader, but personally (cp. his speech in vv. 833-855 *passim* and vv. 872 sq.); (ii) why should Hector 'brag' because the accusation is made? The vagueness of reference in the preceding words, ὀλοῖθ' ὁ δράσας, cannot in itself be regarded as a recantation¹ and so as an answer to the first difficulty; ὅστις ἦν or something of the kind should have been added. And the second question is left.

The explanation, I think, lies in γλῶσσ' and κομπεῖς. The unusual pause after the first syllable of the line lays marked and unexpected emphasis on γλῶσσ'. κομπεῖς is not 'thou dost boast,'

¹ Professor Gilbert Murray's version (in his delightful translation of the *Rhesus*, 1913):—

My curse rest—not on Hector, but on those

Who stabbed us, as thou say'st.—Ah, Justice knows!—
is assuredly not a close rendering,

but 'thou dost disdainfully assert.' *κομπεῖν*, in reference not to one's own merits but to another's failings, is found in *v.* 438: *οὐχ ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμύστιδας*. Cp. also *Orestes* 571, Aesch. *P. V.* 947. The charioteer means, then: 'Let¹ the slayer perish! For 'tis no *tongue*, as thy taunts aver, that points at thee.'² Here he draws his *sword* and rushes upon Hector with the cry: 'Justice knows...' He would have said: 'Justice knows how to equalize the obscure Thracian and the mighty Trojan'—but he is checked in his outcry and his onset alike, perhaps by the henchmen of the prince, perhaps by sudden weakness due to his wound. *λάζυσθε* is familiar in the sense 'Arrest that man!'³ But it may be simply 'Take in your arms.'⁴ In either case the situation is an excellent, if obvious, stroke of stage-craft; but the latter view is the more striking. The mountaineer in the moment of his impetuous charge is arrested by his own weakness, and collapses into the arms of the Trojans and possibly of Hector himself.

G. NORWOOD.

¹ It may be objected that *ὄλοιτο* regularly means, not a direct threat, but a somewhat vague denunciation—'curses upon him!' Certainly; and *ὁ δράσας*—particularly if it does in fact mean Hector—is very vague. I believe that the Thracian, as he gathers himself together for his spring, intentionally uses language which for the instant will half disguise and half express his intention.

² Cp. *Macbeth* v. viii:

I have no words,—

My voice is in my sword, thou bloodier villain

Than terms can give thee out.

³ Cf. *Ion* 1266, 1402; *Phoenissae* 1660; *Bacchae* 503 and possibly 451.

⁴ Cp. *Medea* 956; *Heracles* 943; *Iph. Aul.* 622.

INDICES

(MAINLY TO THE NOTES)

I. GREEK

[Words marked † are given by Rolfe as not occurring elsewhere in the Tragic Poets, although found in other Greek writers. They are to be distinguished from ἄπαξ εἰρημένα, words occurring nowhere outside the *Rhesus*. A list of these latter will be found, *Intro.* p. xlv.]

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II. ENGLISH

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